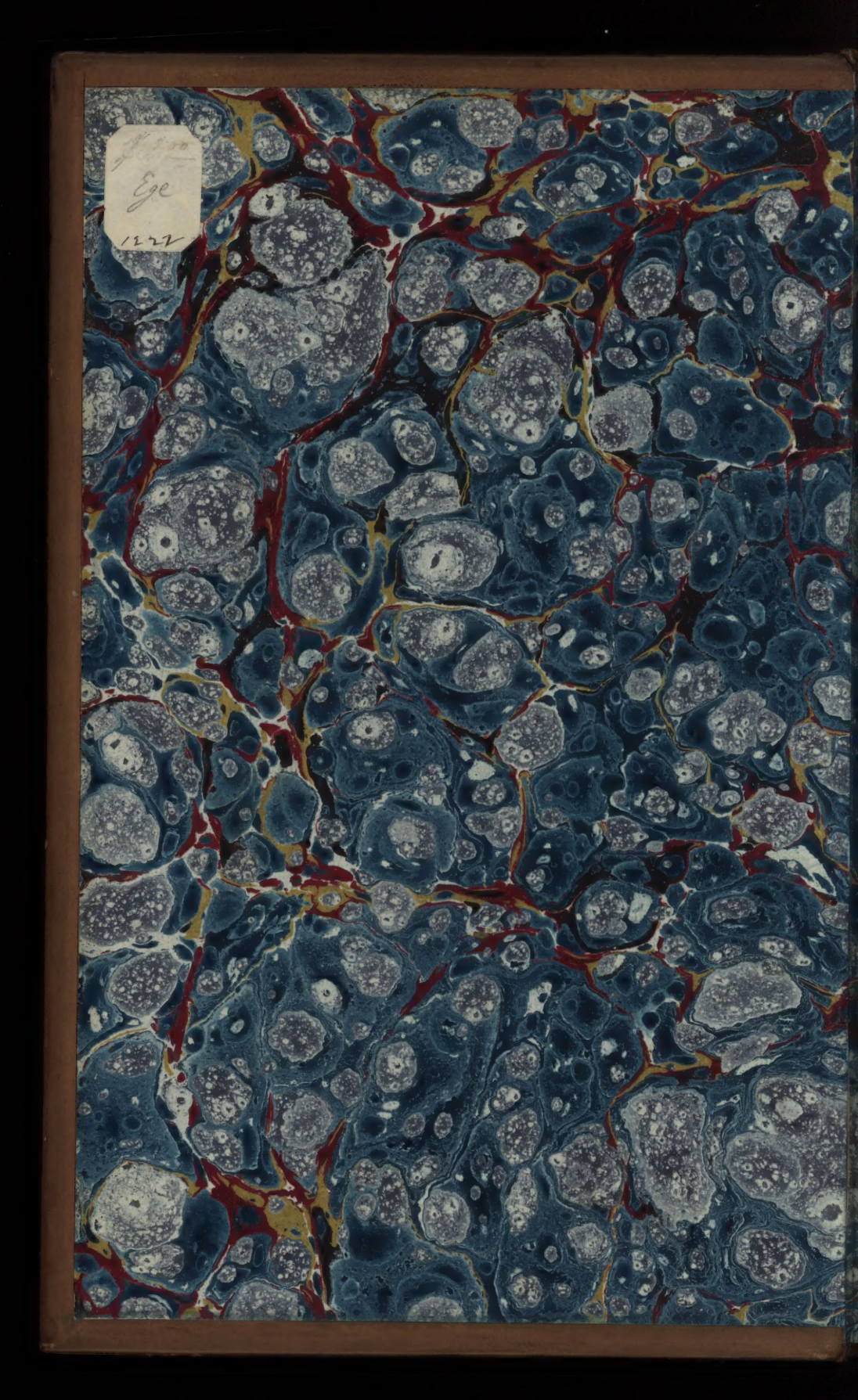
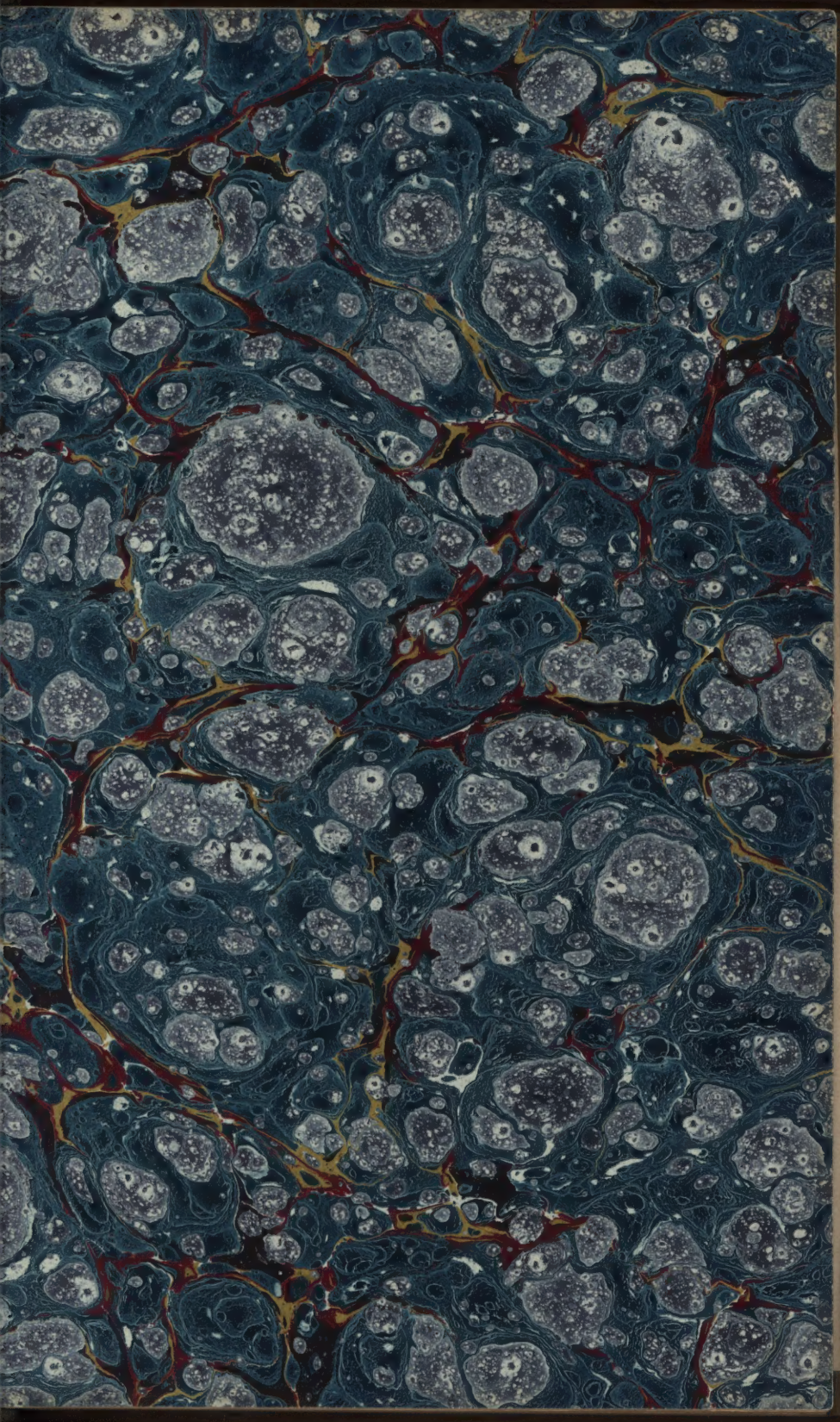

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JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ASIA MINOR,

&c.

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ASIA MINOR,

WITH

COMPARATIVE REMARKS

ON THE

ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY
OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE,
F.R.S. &c.

ACCOMPANIED BY A MAP.

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1824.



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PREFACE.

TO the traveller who delights in tracing vestiges of Grecian art and civilization amidst modern barbarism and desolation, and who may thus at once illustrate history and collect valuable materials for the geographer and the artist—there is no country that now affords so fertile a field of discovery as Asia Minor. Unfortunately, there is no province of the Ottoman empire more difficult to explore in detail. In European Turkey, the effects of the Mahometan system are somewhat tempered by its proximity to civilised Europe, by its conscious weakness, and by the great excess of the Christian population over the Turkish: but the Turk of Asia Minor, although he may be convinced of the danger which threatens the whole Ottoman empire, from the change that has taken place in the relative power of the Musulman and Christian world,

since his ancestors conquered the favoured regions of which their successors have so long been permitted to remain in the undisturbed abuse—derives, nevertheless, a strong feeling of confidence and security, from his being further removed from the Christian nations which he dreads; and sensible that European Turkey must be the first to fall before the conqueror, he feels no restraint in the indulgence of his hatred to the Christian name, beyond that which may arise from the dictates of his religion, or from the native hospitality of the people of the East.

In Asia Minor, among the impediments to a traveller's success may be especially reckoned the deserted state of the country, which often puts the common necessaries and conveniences of travelling out of his reach; the continual disputes and wars among the persons in power; the precarious authority of the government of Constantinople, which rendering its protection ineffectual, makes the traveller's success depend upon the personal character of the governor of each district; and the ignorance

and the suspicious temper of the Turks, who have no idea of scientific travelling; who cannot imagine any other motive for our visits to that country, than a preparation for hostile invasion, or a search after treasures among the ruins of antiquity, and whose suspicions of this nature are of course most strong in the provinces which, like Asia Minor, are the least frequented by us*. If the traveller's prudence or good fortune should obviate all these difficulties, and should protect him from plague, banditti, and other perils of a semibarbarous state of society, he has still to dread the loss of health, arising from the combined effects of climate, fatigue, and privation; which seldom fails to check his career before he has completed his projected tour.

Asia Minor is still in that state in which a disguised dress, an assumption of the medical character, great patience and perseverance, the sacrifice of all European comforts, and the concealment of pecu-

* These remarks were written before the insurrection broke out in Greece—an event which will greatly increase the difficulties of travelling in Asia Minor.

niary means, are necessary to enable the traveller thoroughly to investigate the country, when otherwise qualified for the task by literary and scientific attainments, and by an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people.

Among modern travellers, two only have yet traversed Asia Minor in various directions for exploratory purposes; Paul Lucas in the years 1705, 1706, and 1715, and Capt. Macdonald Kinneir in the years 1813 and 1814. The rest have merely followed a single route in passing through the country; even the travels of the two persons just named, amount only to a description of several routes instead of one; the state of the provinces and the mode of travelling having rendered it impossible to make any of those excursions from the main road, without which the geography of an unknown country cannot possibly be ascertained. It even appears from the journal of Mr. Kinneir, that the difficulties of travelling in Asia Minor have rather increased of late years than diminished. And hence he was unsuccessful in all his attempts to explore par-

ticular sites interesting to ancient history, and was unfortunate in his collection of the surest tests of ancient geography,—inscriptions.

The principality of Tshappán-Oglu, which offered some security to the traveller, has been broken up by his death; and that of the family of Kara-Osmán-Oglu, the mildness and equity of whose government over the greater part of Æolis, Ionia and Lydia, had attracted thither great numbers of Greeks from Europe, has been put an end to by the same impolitic jealousy of Sultan Mahmud which is undermining his own security and threatens the destruction of his empire. There remain only a few dispersed chieftains, most of them in a state of doubtful allegiance to the Porte, in whose districts, by good management and previous preparation, the traveller might perhaps be allowed to explore the country in safety. In no other parts can he, unless with all the requisites above stated, and a great sacrifice of time, hope to effect more than a rapid passage along the principal roads, take a transient view of some of the re-

mains of antiquity, and note the distances of places, and the general bearings of the route, together with the relative situations of a few hills or other remarkable objects on either side of the road.

Under such circumstances, it is obvious that the geography of Asia Minor can only be improved by collecting and combining the information contained in the journals of modern travellers; by which means an approximation to a detailed map of the country may progressively be made. It was with the view of contributing to this object that I published the journal of two routes through the central parts of Asia Minor, in the second volume of the Rev. R. Walpole's Collection of Memoirs on Greece and Asia Minor.

Having, since that publication, extended over the whole peninsula the comparative inquiry into its ancient and modern geography, which was there confined to the parts forming the subject of the journals, the result has been, the map which accompanies the present volume; the volume itself containing, together with the

substance of the memoir in Mr. Walpole's Collection, the additional remarks suggested by the more enlarged geographical inquiry.

As the *remarks* have become considerably more voluminous than the *journal*, I cannot flatter myself that the work in its present form will possess much attraction for the general reader. It can only pretend to contain, when accompanied by the map, all the existing information upon Asia Minor most essential to the exploring traveller; at the same time that it cannot fail to offer some interest to the reader of ancient history.

The modern authorities which have served in the construction of the map are of two kinds—the maritime, and those relating to the interior of the country: the former derived from celestial observations, or nautical surveys on the sea coast; the latter, from the routes of travellers. The maritime being the most certain, and giving accuracy of position to the two ends of some of the principal routes, and consequently in a great degree to the entire lines

—may be considered as the foundation of the work.

The positions of Constantinople and Smyrna are assumed from the concurrence of several good observations. The entire southern coast, from the Gulf of Iskenderún to that of Mákri, together with several parts of the coast between Mákri and Smyrna, has been laid down from the Survey of Captain Beaufort, which was made in the years 1811 and 1812, by order of the Admiralty, during the administration of Mr. Yorke; and which was published in the year 1820, by direction of the Lords Commissioners. The principal points and the general outline of the Pontic coast of the peninsula have been adopted from the recently-published chart of the Black Sea by Capt. Gauttier, of the Royal Navy of France *. The western coast, from the Gulf of Elæa to the mouth of the Hellespont, has been laid down from Truguet and Racord, officers of the French Navy, who accompanied Count

* The coast between Cape Carambis and Sinope was not seen by Captain Gauttier, who has therefore borrowed that part from the Russian charts.

Choiseul Gouffier in his Embassy to the Porte in 1784; and the result of whose labours is published in the second volume of M. Choiseul's *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce.*

In the interior of the peninsula the latitude of some important points, as Kesaría, Kónia, Afiom Karahissár, Kutáya, Manissa, Brusa, Isnik, have been observed by Niebuhr, Browne, or by Messrs. Chavasse and Kinneir: the remaining construction is nothing more than the result of a comparison of the ancient geographers and historians with the routes of modern travellers, and with the descriptions of two Turkish geographers, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century—Mustafa Ben Abdalla Kalib Tsheleby, commonly called Hadji Khalfa, and Abubekr Ben Behrem of Damascus. Though little is to be derived from these authors with regard to the exact situation of towns, their evidence on the orthography of names, and their information on the political geography, are of considerable utility.

The elder travellers, whose routes have

served in the construction of the Map, may be confined to Tavernier, Tournefort, Paul Lucas, Otter, and Pococke; for Bertrandon de la Brocquière, de la Mottraye, and Le Bruyn, afford no geographical matter that is not contained in the others.

Tavernier informs us, in his introduction, that he began his travels by a visit to England, in the reign of James the First; he died in 1685. Although he crossed Asia Minor several times, in the way to Persia, where his commercial speculations carried him, he has left us nothing more than a very brief description of two caravan routes to Tokât: the one from Constantinople, by Bóli, Tósia, and Amasía; the other from Smyrna, by Kassabá, Allahshehr, Afiom Karahissár, Bulwudún, and across the Salt country to the Kizil-Ermak, which he passed at Kesre Kiupri.

Tournefort traversed Asia Minor only in one direction, from Erzrúm by Tokát to A'ngura, from whence he passed a little to the north of Eski-shehr, to Brusa.

Paul Lucas was sent out in the year 1704, by the same minister of Louis XIV. who

employed Tournefort on a similar expedition in the Archipelago, the Black Sea, and Armenia. But, unfortunately for our geographical knowledge of Asia Minor, Lucas's qualifications were very inferior to those of his contemporary; nor does he appear to have been well adapted, by previous study, even for those branches of investigation to which his attention was particularly directed by his employers; namely, the collecting of coins and inscriptions.

By assuming the medical character, he secured a good reception at several of the provincial towns, and protection from the governors, as far as their authority extended; but the banditti which at that period infested every part of the country, obliged him always to travel in haste, and often in the night; and he was not qualified to derive as much advantage from journeys made under such circumstances as a more experienced and more enlightened traveller might have done. He was generally careful in noting the time employed in each stage; but the names of places are often disfigured by his careless mode of writing.

His ignorance and credulity made him delight in repeating the absurd tales which the traveller so often hears in these half-civilised countries; at the same time that he omitted the insertion of many useful observations which he could not have failed to make. In some instances he has repeated the fabulous accounts of the natives as if he had himself witnessed them, and has thus rendered himself liable to the suspicion of having wilfully imposed upon his readers. There can be no doubt, however, that his itinerary, abstracted from his narrative, is as correct as he was capable of making it. The geographical results, when connected and compared with those of other travellers, are a sufficient proof of this fact; and Lucas, with all his faults, has furnished us with a greater number of routes than any other traveller in Asia Minor. In 1705 he went from Constantinople to Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Brusa; from Brusa to Kutaya, Eski-shehr, An´gura, Kir-shehr, Kesaría; from Kesaría to Nigde, Bor, Erkle, and Kónia; from Kónia to A´ngura, Beibazár, Kíwa, Nicomedia, and Constantinople, to

which city he returned in February 1706. In the autumn of the same year, after a long journey in Greece, he set out on a second tour in Asia Minor from Smyrna, travelling by Sardes, to Allah-shehr, Alankiúi, Burdur, Susu, and Adália; from Adália to Susu, Isbarta, Egerder, Serkiserai, and Kónia; from Kónia to Erkle, and over Mount Taurus, by the Pylæ Ciliciæ to A'dana, Tarsus, and thence into Syria. In a third journey in Asia Minor, in the year 1715, Lucas went from Smyrna to Ghiuzel Hissár by Tire; from thence by the valley of the Mæander to Denizlú; and from Denizlú by Burdur to Isbarta, from whence he travelled the same road as before to Kónia. He states also, but without giving any particulars of his route, that he again visited Kesaría; and that, after having returned to to Kónia, he once more proceeded by the Pylæ Ciliciæ to A'dana and into Syria.

Next to Lucas, Otter is the most useful of the earlier travellers. He was a Swede, sent to Persia by the Court of France in 1734. He crossed Asia Minor by the way of Iznimid, Lefke, Inoghi, Eski-shehr, Ak-

shehr, Kónia, Erkle, and A'dana; and returned from Persia by the route of Amasía and Boli. His narrative is chiefly valuable from his knowledge of the Turkish language, and from his having previously consulted some manuscript works in the Royal Library at Paris, especially that of Ibrahim Effendi, who first established a Turkish press at Constantinople, and whose information seems to accord with that of Hadji Khalfa, and of Abubekr of Damascus.

Among our own countrymen, Pococke is the only traveller of the last century who has published his route with sufficient precision to be of any use to the geographer; but he has been extremely negligent in noting bearings and distances: his narrative is very obscure and confused; and his journey in Asia Minor is consequently of much less importance than it might have been made by so enlightened, learned, and persevering a traveller. In the year 1740, after visiting a great part of Ionia and Caria, he ascended the valley of the Mæander and its branches to Ishekli and Sandukli,

from whence he crossed to Beiad, Sevrihissár, and An'gura. From An'gura he crossed to the northward into the great eastern road from Constantinople, and returned to that capital by the way of Boli and Nicomedia.

Niebuhr traversed Asia Minor in the year 1766, on his return from India by the way of Baghdad, Mosúl, and Aleppo. From Iskenderún he passed by Bayas to Adana, and from thence by Erkle to Kónia, Karahissár, Kutaya, and Brusa *.

In the year 1797, Browne returned from the interior of Africa by the way of Asia Minor. From Aleppo and Aintab, he traversed the range of Taurus to Bostán, Kesaría, An'gura, Sabanje, and Nicomedia. Mr. M. Bruce † travelled the same route in 1812, and has given us a diary of names and distances not to be found in Browne's printed book of travels.

* An unfortunate fire destroyed the engravings prepared for Niebuhr's third volume, and put a stop to its publication. I believe Major Rennell is in possession of a copy of the map of Niebuhr's route through Asia Minor, struck from the plate before the fire.

† See the appendix to Mr. Kinneir's Travels.

It was in the year 1797, also, that Olivier passed through Asia Minor, from Celenderis by Mout, Láranda, Kónia, Ak-shehr, Afiom Karahissár, Kutaya, Yenishehr, Nicæa, and Nicomedia.

Seetzen traversed Asia Minor from Constantinople to Smyrna, and from Smyrna to Afiom Karahissár, Ak-shehr, Kónia, Láranda, Ibrala, and across Mount Taurus to Karaduar (anciently Anchiale, the port of Tarsus), from whence he passed by sea to Seleuceia, the port of Antioch, now Suadíeh. The distances and the names of the places which he passed through, written with great care, have been preserved; but it is feared that the rest of his valuable manuscripts are irretrievably lost*.

In the year 1801, Browne again traversed Asia Minor from Constantinople, by Nicomedia, Brusa, Kutaya, Afiom Karahissár, Ak-shehr, Kónia, Erkle, Tarsus.

Among recent travellers, Capt. M. Kinnier has furnished us with the greatest

* In the latter part of the last century, Griffiths and Capper published their routes across the peninsula, from S.E. to N.W., but without adding much to geography.

number of routes. These are; 1. from Constantinople, by Nicæa, Eski-shehr, Seid-el-Ghazi, and Germa, to An'gura; from An'gura, by Uskát, to Kesaría; and from Kesaría, by Nigde, Ketch-hissar*, and over Mount Taurus, by the Pylæ Ciliciæ, to Tarsus, Adana, and Iskenderún. 2. From Celenderis to Mout, Láranda, Kónia, Ak-shehr, Afiom Karahissár, Kutaya, Brusa, Mudánia. 3. From Constantinople, by Nicomedia, Sabanje, Turbali, Boli, Kastamúni†, Samsún, Tarabizún, to Erzrúm.

* This is probably an error for Kílissa-Hissár, which, according to Hadji Khalfa, is the name of a castle near Bor; for the bearing and distance of Mr. Kinneir's Ketch-Hissar from Nigde are sufficient to prove that it must have been very near the Bor of Hadji Khalfa and Paul Lucas.

† Mr. Kinneir calls this place Costambol; but the Turkish geographers give it the name in the text, which in fact is nothing more than a slight corruption of Castamon, its Greek name under the Byzantine empire. See Anna Comnena, l. 7. p. 206.—Nicet. in Joan. Comnen. —Chalcocond. l. 9. p. 259.—Leuncl. Annal. Turc.— It is to be regretted that Mr. Kinneir was not more careful in his orthography of places, which often requires correction from Hadji Khalfa, or modern travellers. Like Pococke he has omitted, in giving us his computation of

Mr. Kinneir was also one of the many persons who, during the late war, crossed the northern part of Asia Minor, to or from Persia by the way of Boli, Amasía, and Tokát.

Another road, which has been still more followed, is from Brusa or from Mikhalitza, by Ulubad and Magnesia, to Smyrna, or in the opposite direction: the latitudes of all the principal places on it have been determined by Browne *. Of this and of several other routes in the ancient provinces

miles, to add the actual *measure* by the watch, which is generally the more useful of the two.

* The following are among some of the observations of the latitude of places on the road from Smyrna to Constantinople, made by Mr. Browne. They are taken from his manuscript papers.

	Latitude.	Longitude.
Smyrna . . .	38° 28′ 7″	27° 6′ 48′
Magnesia . .	38° 41′ 30″	
Demir Kapu .	39° 49′ 0″	
Balikesr . . .	39° 32′ 0″	
Ulubad . . .	40° 9′ 30″	
Mikhalitza . .	40° 16′ 30″	
Brusa . . .	40° 9′ 30″	
Yenishehr . .	40° 12′ 0″	
Kizdervent . .	40° 32′ 0″	
Nicæa . . .	40° 21′ 30″	

of Mysia, Lydia, Ionia, and Caria, we have descriptions in Smith, Wheler, Spon, Chishull, Pococke, Picenini, Chandler, and Choiseul Gouffier.

The authorities upon which our knowledge of the *ancient* geography of Asia Minor is chiefly founded, are the works of Strabo, Ptolemy*, Pliny, Stephanus Byzantinus, the curious table or map of roads called the Peutingerian Table, the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries†, the Synecdemus of Hierocles, and the following historical narratives of some celebrated military expeditions:—1. The Journal by Xenophon ‡, of the route of Cyrus from Sardes to Celænæ, and from thence to Ico-

* It is almost unnecessary to remark that the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy are of very little use, though they may be sometimes employed as a concurrent testimony in proof of the vicinity of places.

† The routes of these three itineraries are described upon the map by a double line; and thus the part of the Peutinger Table relating to Asia Minor is (I believe for the first time) placed upon the real projection. This part of the Table has at the same time been engraved on the same plate with the Map, for the greater convenience of reference and comparison.

‡ Ante Christum, 401.

nium; and through Lycaonia and part of Cappadocia, and over Mount Taurus to Tarsus. 2. Arrian's history of the conquest of Asia Minor by Alexander; in which the part more particularly worthy of the geographer's attention is the march from Lycia into Pamphylia and Pisidia, and thence to Gordium in Phrygia, and to Ancyra, and through Cappadocia and the Pylæ Ciliciæ to Tarsus *. 3. The history of the Roman wars in Asia by Polybius, Livy, and Appian; especially the description by Livy of the marches of Cn. Manlius, in Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, and thence into Gallogræcia, and to Ancyra †. 4. The march of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, from Constantinople to Iconium, in an expedition against the Turks, as related by his daughter Anna Comnena.

To these may be added, with regard to the southern coast, an anonymous Periplus, entitled, "σταδιασμὸς τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης," which was extracted from a manuscript in the Royal Library of Madrid, and published in a volume called Regiæ Bibliothecæ

* A. C. 333. † A. C. 189.

Matritensis Codices Græci MSS. by the librarian Iriarte, in the year 1769. But the best and most numerous evidences of ancient geography are those which still exist in the country itself, in the ruins of the ancient cities, and in the inscriptions and other monuments which may be found there. When these remains of antiquity shall be thoroughly explored, and the results compared with the geographers, with the itineraries and with the passages of history just referred to, they will probably lead to a system of Ancient Geography in Asia Minor, much more correct than we at present possess *. For while we are still ignorant of

* An inquiry into the situation of the sees of the Greek bishoprics of the Lower Empire may sometimes assist the traveller in the discovery of the ancient *Pagan* sites. In regard to the smaller places, this method may not often be successful, Turkish conquest and Christian depopulation having gradually obliterated the greater part of them; but it is difficult to suppose that the metropolitan, and some others of the more important sees, which are at the same time desiderata of ancient geography,—such as Synnada, Antiocheia of Pisidia, Perge, Philomelium, Pessinus, Amorium,—should be unknown to the Christians of Asia Minor, although their names may be no longer in common use.

the exact position of such important points as Gordium, Pessinus, Synnada, Celænæ, Cibyra, Sagalassus, Aspendus, Selge, Antioch of Pisidia and Isaura, it is almost a vain attempt to form any satisfactory system; as the several parts of it must depend so much upon one another, and upon an accurate determination of the principal places.

After this remark, the reader will not be surprised, upon consulting the map, to find that not only the boundaries of the provinces or districts are indistinctly marked, but that even the names of places, both ancient and modern, are often inserted without the usual note of exact locality.

The ancient provincial divisions are distributed according to the description of Strabo; or, in other words, according to their usual acceptation at the time of the establishment of the Roman Empire, when, as they ceased to have any political use, their boundaries became, as they had always in some degree been, extremely uncertain.

The appellations of the Turkish districts

are either derived from the principal town of each district, or from the names of those chieftains who, together with the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, shared Asia Minor among them, on the breaking up of the Seljukian kingdom of Iconium, at the death of Aladin the Second, about the year 1300 of the Christian æra. These chieftains were, Karamán, Kermián, Teke, Aidín, Sarukhán, Sassan or Sagla, and Karasi. Múntesha, the appellation of the south-western corner of Asia Minor, is supposed to be a corruption of Myndesia, or the country of Myndus; and this is the only district, therefore, the name of which the Turks adopted from the conquered people.

All the north-eastern part of the peninsula fell to the share of Amur and his sons, but its divisions were not distinguished by their names.

Osman, who inherited the country around Shughut from his father Ertogrul, soon increased his territory by the country to the northward and westward of that town, as far as the Propontis and the Black Sea.

This part of the peninsula still retains the appellation of Khodja-Ili, or the country of Khodja, given to it in honour of Aktshe Khodja, the officer of Osman, who effected the conquest.

Khodavenkiar*, which was the surname of Murad, son of Orkhan son of Osman, has been attached to the district of Brusa ever since Orkhan, having conquered that country from the Greeks, confided the government of it to his son.

Kermián-oglu, or the successor of Kermian†, was the first of the Turkish princes of Asia Minor who resigned a part of his dominions to the house of Osman, and who put his family under their protection, by the marriage of his daughter with the son of Murad, the celebrated Bayazid. During the three subsequent reigns, those princes were generally tributary to, but not otherwise de-

* An Arabic word, meaning *master, ruler.*

† This name has been supposed to prove that Kutaya, the capital of Kermian, stands on the site of the *Κεραμῶν ἄγορα* of Xenophon; but there is no doubt that Kermian is a Turkish name, and foreign to ancient Asia Minor. The mosque of Sultan Kermian still exists at Kutaya.

pendent on, the Ottoman monarchs, whom they often resisted in the field; and it was not until the family of Isfendiar, who governed in Heracleia Pontica, Castamon, and Sinope, was reduced by Mahomet the Second, and the kingdom of Karaman by Bayazid the Second, in the year 1486, that the whole of Asia Minor became an Ottoman province.

Thus much it seemed necessary to recall to the reader's recollection, in explanation of the Turkish provincial names in the map.

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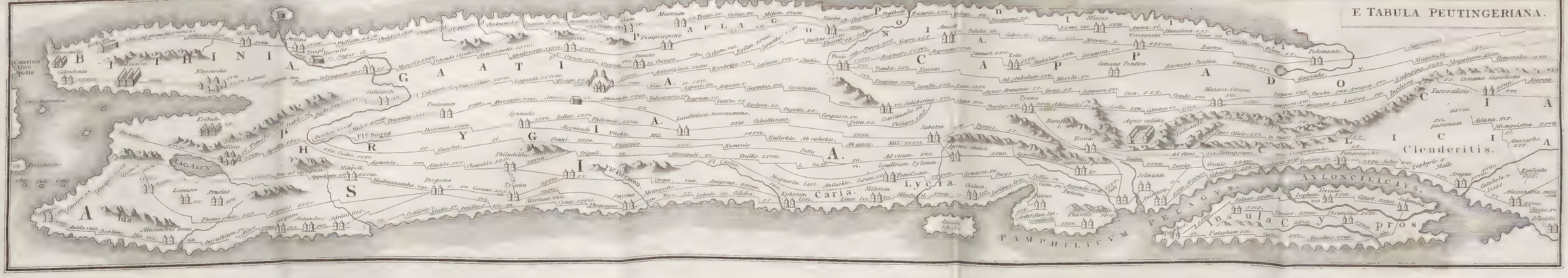
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ESSAY of a MAP of ASIA MINOR, Ancient and Modern

BY W.M. LEAKE, 1822.

The Turks divide all Asia Minor into Anadoli and Karaman. Anadoli contains 17 Sanjaks. 1 Kermián. chief town Kutiya. 2. Sarukhán ct. Manisa. 3. Aidin ct. Tire. 4. Mentesha ct. Mugola. 5. Teke ct. Adalia. 6. Hamid ct. Lebárta. 7. Aflom Karahissár. 8. Sultan Ogli. 9. Angora or Amiriss. 10. Kiutáhiri. 11. Karahamid. 12. Bolí. 13. Khodavendkiar ct. Brusa. 14. Kárasi ct. Balikisri. 15. Khoja-ili ct. Ismimid. 16. Biga. 17. Sighi ct. Izmir. Karaman is subdivided into Ikh-ili, and Khariejí or Karaman proper. Ikhili contains the Sanjaks of Aliya, Sillafi, Gulnar, Selefke, Ermenék. Sinanli, Moud, Sarikevik, Karaman is divided into 1. Konia, 2. Nigde, 3. Beyshehr, 4. Akshehr, 5. Aksarai, 6. Kesaria, 7. Kirshehr.

Ancient names are distinguished from modern by being underlined as *Scripta Latinitus* or written in open Capitals as MYSIA while the modern names are in black Capitals as KERMIAN. In regard both to modern and ancient names it has often been necessary to omit the usual sign of locality, because it has not been possible to obtain more than an approximation to the situation of the place named. When an ancient name is endeavour within brackets ( ) the locality is the same as that of the modern name to which it is affixed. Pure, or T. prefixed to a modern name indicates a Turkish or at Greek name.

The routes of modern travellers are described by a single line with the name of the traveller written along it in the direction in which he moved unless when this would have had the effect of reversing the word, when the direction is expressed by an arrow. The routes of most of the older travellers have been inserted, but of the more recent those only, whose information has been useful.

The ancient itineraries are described by a double line. Ant. or Ant. it. refers to the Itinerary of Antoninus. Hier or Jer. it. to the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum or Jerusalem Itinerary, and Tab. to the Peutinger Table. The ancient places occurring on these roads are written across the double line in the positions resulting from the distances given, but as there are numerous errors in the itineraries, those places only are in general inserted, the orthography or position of which receives some confirmation from other authorities.

The existance of ancient ruins is indicated by three points. A note of interrogation is sometimes added to the ancient names to mark that the position is doubtful.

The ancient names of promontories are accompanied by the word, or pen. of rivers by R. of islands by Isl. of mountains by M. pr. for prius distinguishes the earlier of two ancient names of the same place. po. for posterius the latter, for sive separates two ancient names of the same place.

The ancient provincial divisions are those of the early part of the Roman Empire.

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JOURNAL OF A TOUR

IN

ASIA MINOR,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

JOURNEY FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO KÓNIA.

Departure from Constantinople—Kartal—Ghebse—Kizderwént—Lake Ascanius—Nicæa—Site of the ancient Towns between Constantinople and Nicæa—Ruins of Nicæa—Lefke—Shughut—Eski-shehr, the ancient Dorylæum—Seid-el-Ghazi—Doganlú, probably the ancient Nacoleia—Kosru-Khan—Bulwudún—Isaklú—Ak-shehr—Ilgún—Ladík—Ruins of Laodiceia—Kónia.

On the 19th of January 1800, I quitted Constantinople, on my way to Egypt, in company with the late Brigadier General Koehler, the late Sir Richard Fletcher, the late Archdeacon Carlyle, Arabic professor at Cambridge, and Mr. Pink, of the corps of Royal Military Surveyors, and Draftsmen. We were well armed, and dressed as Tatár Couriers; and the whole party, including servants, baggage,

Turkish attendants, and postillions, formed a caravan of thirty-five horses. At this time, there were two roads across Asia Minor, used by messengers and other persons, travelling post between the Grand Vizier's army, and the capital; the one meeting the south coast at Adália, the other at Kelénderi. We deferred deciding as to which we should follow, until we should arrive at the point of separation.

We left Iskiodár (in Greek, Σκουτάριον, Skutári) at 11 A.M., and travelled for four hours along the borders of the sea of Marmora, through one of the most delightful tracts in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; its beauty heightened by the mildness of the weather and the clearness of the atmosphere. On our right was the tranquil expanse of the sea of Marmora, as far as the high woody coast on the south side of Nicomedia, surmounted by the majestic summits of the Bithynian Olympus. In the midst of this magnificent basin were seen immediately before us the Princes Islands, with their picturesque villages and convents, amidst pine groves and vineyards. The road led sometimes through rich pastures, covered with sheep, but, for the most part, through the gardens which supply a large proportion of the vegetables consumed in the city and its suburbs. Already the beans, and other productions of the spring, were in a forward state. The road was in some places muddy, but in general

very good. Kartal, where we arrived at the end of four hours, is a small place upon the edge of the gulf, in the midst of a fertile and well cultivated district, and has a harbour for small vessels. Half an hour further is a Greek village, which preserves unaltered the ancient name Παντίχιον, pronounced Pandíkhi.

Jan. 20.—From Kartal to Ghebse * five hours, passing through Pandíkhi; and at the end of three hours Tuzla, so called from the salt-works belonging to it. The road winds along the side of the gulf, which, as it narrows, presents a great variety of beautiful landscapes. The soil affords a fine pasture, in some parts of which appear rocks of blue and white marble, projecting above the surface; and several remains of ancient quarries. We met a Mollah travelling in a Taktreván, lounging upon soft cushions, smoking his Narghilé †, and accompanied by splendidly-dressed attendants on horseback. His baggage-horses were loaded with mattresses and coverings for his sofas; with valises containing his clothes; a large assortment of pipes;

* The rule which I have observed in writing Turkish names, requires the reader to pronounce the vowels as in Italian, and the consonants as in English. Gh, Dh, and Kh, are intended to express the aspirated forms of G, D, K. The accent is marked in all words, the sound of which might be doubtful without it.

† A kind of pipe in which the smoke is made to pass through water: used in every part of the East.

tables of copper; cauldrons; saucepans; and a complete *batterie de cuisine*. Such a mode of travelling is undoubtedly very different from that which was in use among the Turks of Osman, and Orkhan. The articles of the Mollah's baggage are, probably, for the most part, of Greek origin, adopted from the conquered nation in the same manner as the Latins borrowed the arts of the Greeks of a better age. In fact, it is in a great degree to Greek luxuries, with the addition of coffee and tobacco, that the present imbecile condition of these barbarians is to be ascribed; and "Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit" applies as well to the Turk as it once did to the Roman; for though Grecian art in its perfection may be degraded by a comparison with the arts of the Byzantine Greeks, yet in the scale of civilization, the Turks did not bear a higher proportion to these than the Romans did to the ancient Greeks.

Ghebse, called by the Greeks Gívyza* (Κίβυζα), is a Turkish town, having a few Greek houses. The only remarkable object in it is a fine mosque of white marble, surrounded by a grove of large

* The initial K, P, T, in names of places have generally among the modern Greeks the sound of G, B, D: this arises from their practice of using those names in the accusative case preceded by στὴν; for ν before κ, π, τ, gives the harder kindred sound to the vowel which follows. Before π the ν becomes converted into m: as, στὴν πόλιν—Constantinople, pronounced stim bólin. Whence the Turkish Stambol.

cypresses, both of the pointed kind and of that of which the branches are looser and more spreading. This mosque, and some good baths, were built by Mustafá Pasha, who was Grand Vizier to Sultán Selím the First at the time of the conquest of Egypt. An imperfect Greek inscription was the only indication which I observed of Ghebse being on the site of a Greek city.

Jan. 21.—From Ghebse to Kizderwént, nine hours. Our route for the first three hours was parallel to the shore of the gulf, which here presents, on either side, a beautiful scenery of abrupt capes and woody promontories, with villages upon the sides of the mountains, and corn-fields and vineyards to their very tops. The road then descends to the water-side under the small village of Malsúm, where a long tongue of land, projecting from the opposite shore, affords a convenient ferry of about two miles across, to the south side of the gulf. It is called the ferry of the Dil (tongue), and being much frequented, is well supplied with large boats and constant attendance. The persons employed in it are lodged in tents by the water-side. We write to our friends at Constantinople by a huntsman of the Sultan, who is returning from the chace loaded with pheasants, partridges, and other game, which he has been killing for the Imperial table in the woods near the gulf. It takes us two hours to unload, cross the ferry, and reload. We then ride

three miles along the Dil before we gain the line of coast. Leaving the town of Ersek at no great distance on our right, we proceed up a beautiful valley, watered by a river which joins the gulf near the Dil. This river we cross more than twenty times; passing through the water, or over good stone bridges. In many places the river falls in cascades over the rocks. The sky is without a cloud; and the temperature that of England in April or May. The ground is covered with violets, crocusses, and hyacinths. The road being excellent, we travel nearly at the rate of four miles and a half an hour, and complete our computed journey of nine hours in seven. We passed a ruined castle of the lower Greek empire, with many towers. On the slopes on either side are seen flocks of sheep and goats; in the valley the peasants are at plough, and we meet long caravans of camels tied together, and preceded by an ass. As we approach Kizderwént, which is situated in a retired part of the valley, near the source of the river which we have been following, we enter an extensive mulberry plantation, this being one of the numerous villages in the neighbourhood that supply Brusa with the excellent silk for which it is noted in the commercial world. Vineyards, on the slopes of the hills around, furnish also a tolerable wine. Kizderwént (the pass of the girls) having the misfortune to lie upon the great road from Constantinople to Brusa, Kutáya, and

Kónia, is exposed to a thousand vexations from passengers, notwithstanding the privileges and exemptions which have been granted to it by the Porte. It is inhabited solely by Greeks. Upon our arrival we found our konakjí, or Tatár courier, who has the charge of riding forward to procure lodgings (konák), seated over a blazing fire in a neat cottage, which formed a favourable contrast to the meanness and want of comfort seen amidst the pretended magnificence of some of the Turkish houses which we had seen. To judge from what we have hitherto observed, the lower order of Christians are not in a worse condition in Asia Minor than the same class of Turks; and if the Christians of European Turkey have some advantages arising from the effects of the superiority of their numbers over the Turks, those of Asia have the satisfaction of seeing that the Turks are as much oppressed by the men in power as they are themselves; and they have to deal with a race of Mussulmans generally milder, more religious, and better principled than those of Europe.

Jan. 22.—We travel in a fine valley, continually ascending. At the end of an hour we come suddenly upon a view of the lake Ascanius. It is about ten miles long, and four wide; surrounded on three sides by steep woody slopes, behind which rise the snowy summits of the Olympus range. A forest of Ilex, and other evergreens, mixed with oaks, cover the nearer hills; while on the left, along the head of

the lake, we perceive a rich cultivated plain, at the extremity of which, soon afterwards appears, on the edge of the lake, the entire circuit of the ancient walls of Nicæa, with their massy towers and gates. Nothing is more striking in this magnificent prospect, than that clearness of atmosphere, and brilliancy of colouring, which is so seldom seen in our northern scenery. We make the circuit of the northern end of the lake; passing for ten miles through the plain, and traversing plantations of olives, mulberries, and vines: the almond-trees were already in blossom. At about two miles on our left, we saw an ancient triangular obelisk, standing single in the middle of the plain. It bears an inscription, which has been published by Pococke, and which proves that the obelisk was erected in honour of C. Cassius Philiscus. Having passed through one of the ancient gates of Nicæa, and through the garden ground now inclosed within its walls, we arrive at the wretched Turkish town of Isnik, distant five complete hours, or about twenty miles, from Kizderwént.

Among the ancient places situated between Constantinople and Nicæa, there is sufficient evidence of the situation of Scutarium * and Pantichium †, in the preservation of their ancient names. Givyza

* Ὀρχάνης . . . . ἦλθε πρὸς τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὴν Περαίαν, ὃ Σκουτάριον ἐρχωρίως ὀνομάζεται.—Cantacuz. l. 4. c. 4.

† Antonin. Itin. ed. Wessel. p. 139. Hierosol. It. p. 572.

has generally been supposed a corruption of Libyssa, the name of a small maritime town, celebrated as having been the burying-place of Hannibal; but Gívyza is more probably a corruption of Dacibyza; being, when written in Greek (Κίβυζα), no other than the ancient Δακίβυζα, with the loss of the first syllable. The thirty-six or thirty-nine Roman miles, moreover, placed in the itinerary, between Chalcedonia and Libyssa, will not agree so well with the nine hours from Skutári to Gívyza, as with the twelve hours to Malsúm; which place, therefore, I take to stand on the site of Libyssa. Plutarch appears to confirm this supposition, for in mentioning Libyssa *, he speaks of a sandy place near it on the sea-side, answering to the promontory of Dil, which, as we have seen, is immediately below Maldysem or Malsum. Dacibyza is mentioned by several of the historians of the Lower Empire, as a place where, by order of the Arian Emperor Valens, eighty priests of the opposite sect were burned, with the ship wherein they were embarked †. The river descending from Kizderwént to the Dil, can be no other than the Draco, which joined the sea at Helenopolis, a small town, so named by Constantine in honour of his mother: for it seems evident, upon compar-

* Ἐν δὲ Βιθυνίᾳ τόπος ἐστὶ Θινώδης ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ κώμη τις οὐ μεγάλη Λίβυσσα καλεῖται—Plutarch. in Flam.

† Zonaras, l. 13. c. 16. Socrates, l. 4. c. 16. Sozomen 6. c. 14. Cedrenus, p. 311. Theophanes, p. 50.

ing Procopius with Anna Comnena, that Helenopolis was at or near Ersek. The Dil has been formed by the alluvial deposition of the Draco; whose impetuosity has been well described by Procopius, as well as its winding course *. In riding from the Dil to Kizderwént, I remarked that we traversed the river about twenty times, without being aware that Procopius has made precisely the same remark with regard to the Draco †.—In the first crusade, the passes of this stream were fatal to many of the followers of Peter the Hermit; who, after having by the assistance of the Emperor Alexius crossed the sea from Constantinople, encamped at Helenopolis. From thence they proceeded to ravage the country around Nicæa, which city was then in the possession of the Turks of Kilidj Arslan; and they occupied the fortress of Xerigordus. But this place was soon retaken by the Sultan; who slew many of the Franks, captured others, and destroyed a still greater number by means of an ambuscade, which he stationed in the passes of the Draco ‡.

In the evening we found time to walk among the ruins of Nicæa. The ancient walls, towers, and gates are in tolerably good preservation. Their

* Procop. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 2. Hist. Arcan. c. 30. Anna Comn. l. 10. p. 287.

† Διαξαίνειν αὐτὸν πλεῖον ἢ εἰκοσάκις ἐστὶ τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσι. Proc. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 2.

‡ Anna Comnena, l. 10. p. 286. ed. Paris.

construction resembles that of the walls of Constantinople, with which they are coæval. In most places they are formed of alternate courses of Roman tiles, and of large square stones, joined by a cement of great thickness. In some places have been inserted columns, and other architectural fragments, the ruins of more ancient edifices. Of the towers, those on the edge of the lake, and on either side of the different gates, are the largest and most perfect. We remark, also, the remains of two walls which projected from the main inclosure into the water, and which were undoubtedly intended to exclude, when necessary, all communication under the walls, along the edge of the lake. Some of the towers, like those of Constantinople, have Greek inscriptions; these have been published in the Inscriptiones Antiquæ of Pococke. The ruins of mosques, baths, and houses, dispersed among the gardens and corn-fields, which now occupy a great part of the space within the Greek fortifications, show that the Turkish Isnik, though now so inconsiderable, was once a place of importance, as indeed its history under the early Ottomans, before they were in possession of Constantinople, gives sufficient reason to presume. But it never was so large as the Grecian Nicæa, and it seems to have been almost entirely constructed of the remains of that city; the walls of the ruined mosques and baths being full of the fragments of Greek temples and churches.

Jan. 23.—From Isnik to Lefke, six hours, and from Lefke to Vezir-Khan, four hours. We rise at two in the morning; but as it takes near three hours for the whole party to breakfast, pack up the baggage, and load the horses, we are not ready till five, and have then to wait an hour and a half for horses. We soon leave the borders of the beautiful lake of Isnik, and proceed up a valley, which we quit after three or four miles, and suddenly ascend to the left a hill of moderate height. Soon losing sight of the lake, we advance along an elevated barren country, until we enter a deep ravine formed by towering cliffs on either side, where a great variety of luxuriant evergreens spring from among the rocks. The ravine leads into a valley, where the same kind of scenery receives additional beauty from the contrast which opens upon us of a fine valley, watered by the Sakaría, a name corrupted from the ancient Sangarius, although this river is not the main branch of the Sangarius, but that which was anciently called Gallus *. Lefke, a neat town built of sun-baked bricks, is situated in the middle of this beautiful valley near the river, which we crossed

* A similar confusion as to the Gallus and Sangarius seems to have prevailed in ancient times. Herodian places the city Pessinus on the Gallus; although we know from Polybius, Livy, and Strabo, that it stood on the banks of the Sangarius, not far from the sources of that river. Strabo, in describing the Gallus as the branch which joins the main river 300 stades from Nicomedia, has identified it with the river of Lefke.

by a handsome stone bridge a little before we entered the town. We find the cultivation in this valley as perfect as that of some of the most civilized parts of Europe. The fields are separated by neat hedges and ditches. Extensive plantations of mulberry-trees, mixed with vineyards and cornfields, occupy the lower grounds, while cultivated patches are seen to a great height in the hills, which in other parts furnish a fine pasture to sheep and goats. This delightful region exhibits a most picturesque contrast with the unevenness and grandeur of the surrounding mountains. We were told there had lately been an insurrection, with the design of expelling an obnoxious Kadi, but we did not perceive the least symptom of disturbance. We follow the valley, passing many villages on either hand, for four hours more, to Vezir-Khan. Since leaving the gulf of Nicomedia we have seen no marks of wheel-carriages, and we met with scarcely any person on the road during this day's journey, except a party of Turkish horsemen with their dogs, in search of hares. The Turks of this part of the country are an extremely handsome race: they have a great variety of head-dresses, most of which are highly becoming to their fine countenances. The women who appear abroad are invariably dressed in the shapeless ferijé, and the veil so often described by travellers. At Vezir-Khan we were lodged in a small mud-built house,

and had to wait a considerable time before our attendants could prevail upon the people to kill the fowls intended for our dinner, and to send men to the river to catch some fish. The valley around is covered with extensive plantations of mulberry-trees, and with orchards, vineyards, and corn-fields, inclosed with hedges; but to these signs of neatness and comfort there is a great contrast in the misery of the houses.

Jan. 24.—From Vezir-Khan to Shughut, eight hours: the weather still delightfully clear and mild. For the first two hours we continue to pursue the valley, and then ascend a lofty ridge, a branch of Olympus. It incloses on the east the valleys watered by the branches of the Sangarius which we have passed, as the heights between Isnik and Lefke do on the opposite side. Our road across the mountain presents some wild scenery of broken rocks and barren downs with little or no wood, and occasionally the view of extensive valleys on either side. At the summit of the ridge we pass a Karakol-hané (guard-house), and at the foot of the mountain on the east side we enter some pleasant valleys, conducting into an open expanse of undulated ground, well cultivated with corn. It gives a favourable idea of Asiatic husbandry; but there is little appearance of inhabitants, only three or four small villages being in sight in the whole of our day's journey. The weather being dry the

road is excellent; but in seasons of rain it must be quite the reverse, on account of the rich deep soil. At the further end of this champaign country we perceive the town of Shughut, and upon an adjacent hill the tomb of Ali Osman, founder of the Ottoman dynasty. Shughut was bestowed upon Ertogrul, the father of Osman, by the Sultan of Kónia, for his services in war; and became the capital of a small state, which included the adjacent country as far as A'ngura on the east, and in the opposite direction all the mountainous district lying between the valleys of the Sangarius and those of the Hermus and Mæander. From hence Osman made himself master of Nicæa and Prusa, and gradually of all Bithynia and Phrygia, and thus laid the foundations of the Turkish greatness. There is another tomb of Osman at Brúsa, the most important of the places which he conquered from the Greeks. But the Turks of this part of Asia Minor assert that the monument at Brúsa is a cenotaph, and that the bones of Osman were laid by the side of those of his father Ertogrul in his native town. The tomb is built like some of the handsomest and most ancient of the Turkish sepulchres at Constantinople, and is situated in the midst of a grove of cypresses and evergreen oaks.

The town is said to contain 900 houses, but now exhibits a wretched appearance, chiefly in consequence of a late insurrection of the inhabitants, a

party of 300 of whom have put to death, within three months, three different Ayáns sent here by the Porte. At present the government of Constantinople has the upper hand, and the insurgents have been obliged to fly to the mountains; but we find the new governor with all his troops still on the *alerte* to prevent the place from being once more surprised and pillaged. Our situation is rendered still more uncomfortable by the discovery we now make, that our travelling firmahn, in consequence of an intrigue at Constantinople, of which we too well know the original mover, is drawn up in such a manner as to leave it in the power of any of the Turks to obstruct our progress; and the Ayán of Shughut accordingly takes advantage of it to extort a present before he will give us the smallest assistance. We are wretchedly lodged in a ruinous apartment over a stable occupied by the Ayán's cavalry; and cannot prevent the soldiers from coming into the room, or from examining our arms and baggage. There are large plantations of mulberries around the town, and every house manufactures a considerable quantity of raw silk.

Jan. 25.—It is nine o'clock before we can procure any horses, and then find none to be had but some wretched animals covered with sores, and almost skeletons. At first setting out they are hardly able to walk; but to our surprise we find, before we have travelled many miles, that most of them

have a very easy and rapid pace; they performed a journey of ten hours' distance with only a few short halts, and arrived at our konák at Eski-shehr apparently in better travelling condition than when they set out. Our road indeed is dry and level, and the weather still fine. Half the route was over mountains, and woody; the latter half over an extensive plain not less than 30 miles in length and 10 in breadth, but very thinly peopled and not above one-third cultivated. Seven or eight miles short of Eski-shehr are some ancient Greek ruins upon a rising ground in the plain. Amidst a great number of scattered fragments of columns, and other remnants of architecture, we find several square pedestals or στήλαι of a clumsy construction, with some almost-defaced fragments of Greek inscriptions, in which we endeavoured in vain to discover the name of the city, though the word πόλις was visible. The ruins are called Besh-Kardash (the five brothers); the number of pedestals standing, however, is more than five, but five is a favourite number with the Turks: the generality of whom, having little idea of numerical accuracy, confine themselves in common conversation to a few numbers, which they particularly affect. These numbers are 5, 15, 40, 100, and 1001.

Eski-shehr is about the same size as Shughut, and is advantageously situated on the root of the hills which border on the north the great plain

already mentioned. The town is divided into an upper and lower quarter; and is traversed by a small stream, which at the foot of the hills joins the Pursek, or ancient Thymbres. This river rises to the south of Kutáya, passes by that city, and joins the Sangarius a few hours to the north-east of Eski-shehr. This place is now celebrated for its natural hot-baths: we were unable to ascertain whether it preserves any remains of antiquity*; but there can be little doubt that it stands upon the site of Dorylæum. The plain of Dorylæum is often mentioned by the Byzantine historians as the place of assembly of the armies of the Eastern empire in their wars against the Turks, and it is described by Anna Comnena† as being the first extensive plain of Phrygia after crossing the ridges of Mount Olympus from Nicæa, and after passing Leucæ. As we have the strongest evidence of the position of Leucæ in the name of the village Lefke, which is exactly the modern pronunciation of the Greek Λεύκαι, there cannot be any doubt that the plain of Dorylæum is that which surrounds Eski-shehr.

The site of the ancient town is not less decisively fixed at Eski-shehr. Athenæus speaks of the hot

* Mr. M. Kinneir found some antique remains, and copied some Christian Greek inscriptions here. Paul Lucas found some ruins, and transcribed some incomplete inscriptions at an Armenian village an hour and a half from Eski-shehr.

† Ann. Comn. l. 11. p. 317—. l. 15. p. 469.

waters of Dorylæum, and remarks that they are very pleasant to the taste. Cinnamus mentions the hot baths, the fertile plain, and the river of Dorylæum*; and the site is indicated with equal certainty by the ancient itineraries†: for from Dorylæum diverged roads, to Philadelphia; to Apameia Cibotus; to Laodiceia Combusta, and Iconium; to Germa, and to Pessinus: a coincidence of lines which (their remote extremities being nearly certain) will not apply to any point but Eski-shehr, or some place in its immediate neighbourhood. The position of Eski-shehr accords also with the Antonine and Jerusalem itineraries, inasmuch as we observe in these tables, that the road from Nicæa to Ancyra did not pass through Dorylæum, but to the northward of it; and Eski-shehr is about thirty miles to the southward of a line drawn from Isnik to A'ngura.

The Aga of Eski-shehr was formerly in the government of a town six hours distant, the name of which we neglected to note. He had long been at war with the governor of Eski-shehr, and at length having acquired the preponderancy so far as to carry off all his opponent's sheep and cattle, he followed up his successes last year with such increased energy that he added his rival's head to the other spoils, and has since been in undisturbed possession of

* Athen. l. 2, c. 5. ed. Casaub. Cinnam. l. 6. c. 74.

† Tab. Peutinger. Segm. vi. Anton. Itin. p. 202.

both places, and confirmed in his authority by the Porte.

Jan. 26.—From Eski-shehr to Seid-el-Gházi, a computed distance of nine hours. We have a sharp wind at east. Our road for the first half of the journey continues to cross the same wide uncultivated plains; but towards the end they are more broken into hill and dale, and appear less wild and desolate. Scarcely a tree is to be seen through the whole day's journey. Upon the edge of the plains we observe in many places sepulchral chambers excavated in the rocks. In these, and in the fragments of ancient architecture dispersed in different parts of the plains, we have undoubted proofs of their ancient cultivation and populousness. At about half way we found, near a fountain, several inscribed stones. The annexed is the only inscription I could decypher:

ΔΗΜΑΕΚΑΙ
ΓΑΙΟΕΥΠΕΡ
ΒΟΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΗΑ
ΗΙΑΔΙ ΠΩΤΗ
ΡΙΕΥΧΗΝΚΑΙ
ΗΡΑΚΛΗΑΝΙΚ
ΗΤ.

It appears to be a dedication of thanks to Jupiter Papias, the Saviour, and Hercules, the Invincible, for their care of the oxen of Demas and Gaius.

This inscription is upon a flat slab, surmounted with a pediment, in the middle of which is a *caput bovis*, with a festoon. Here also is a square stele,

with an ornamented cornice; on one of its sides is an obliterated inscription, in the centre of a garland.

The latter part of our journey is over low ridges; the road throughout is excellent, and fit for wheel-carriages. Seid-el-Gházi is a poor ruined village, but it bears marks of having once been a place of more importance, even in Turkish times; upon the side of a hill which commands the village, there is a fine mosque dedicated to the Mussulman saint from whom the place derives its name. There are also several fragments of architecture which fix it as the site of an ancient Greek city.

Jan. 27.—From Seid-el-Gházi to Kósru Pasha-Khany, the distance is seven hours; but we made a détour to the right of the direct road, for the sake of viewing some monuments of antiquity, which were reported to us at Seid-el-Gházi. We first ascend for some distance, and pass over an elevated stony heath, in a direction to the westward of south; we then enter a forest of pine-trees, from many of which they had been extracting the turpentine, by making an incision at the foot of the tree, and then lighting a fire under it. By these means the resin descends rapidly, and is soon collected in large quantities, but the tree is killed; and it sometimes happens that the fire communicating destroys large tracts of the forest. We saw several remains of these conflagrations as we passed along. After tra-

versing the forest for an hour, we came in sight of a beautiful valley, situated in the midst of it. Turning to the left, after we had descended into the valley, we found it to be a small plain, about a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, embosomed in the forest, and singularly variegated with rocks, which rise perpendicularly out of the soil, and assume the shape of ruined towers and castles. Some of these are upwards of 150 feet in height, and one or two, entirely detached from the rest, have been excavated into ancient catacombs, with doors and windows, and galleries, in such a manner that it required a near inspection to convince us that what we saw were natural rocks, and not towers and buildings. We found the chambers within to have been sepulchres, containing excavations for coffins, and niches for cinerary vases. Following the course of the valley to the S.E., we came in sight of some sepulchral chambers, excavated with more art, and having a portico with two columns before the door, above which a range of dentils forms a cornice. But the most remarkable of these excavations, is that which will best be understood by the annexed sketch of it, taken by General Koehler, while Mr. Carlyle and myself were employed in copying two inscriptions engraved upon the face of the rock. In the upper inscription a few letters are deficient at the beginning and end; the lower appeared to us to be complete. The letters of the first are larger and wider

asunder than those of the second. Both are written from left to right, but in the lower inscription the letters are written *downwards*, along the edge of the monument, so that to place the eyes upon the same line with the inscription, the head must be held sideways. The rock which has been shaped into this singular monument rises to a height of upwards of one hundred feet above the plain; and at the back, and on one of the sides, remains in its natural state. The ornamented part is about sixty feet square, surmounted by a kind of pediment, above which are two volutes. The figures cut upon the rock are no where more than an inch deep below the surface, except towards the bottom, where the excavation is much deeper, and resembles an altar. It is not impossible, however, that it may conceal the entrance into the sepulchral chamber, where lie the remains of the person in whose honour this magnificent monument was formed; for in some other parts of Asia Minor, especially at Telmissus, we have examples of the wonderful ingenuity with which the ancients sometimes defended the entrance into their tombs. There can be little doubt that the monument was sepulchral; the crypts and catacombs in the excavated rocks around it prove that the valley was set apart for such purposes, to which its singularly retired position and romantic scenery, amidst these extensive forests, rendered it peculiarly well adapted.

The valley bears the name of Doganlú, from a neighbouring village which we did not see, but where, according to the information we received, are remains of an ancient fortification, called by the Turks Pismésh Kálesi. I am inclined to think they mark the site of Nacoleia *, named by Strabo among the cities of Phrygia Epictetus, together with Cotyaeium, Dorylæum, and Midaeium; the first of which places (now Kutáya) is within twenty geographical miles, in direct distance, to the north-westward of Doganlú; the second, Dorylæum (Eski-shehr), is at nearly that distance to the north of Doganlú; and Midaeium was to the north-eastward, distant about 35 G. M. direct. But a still closer argument, in favour of this situation of Nacoleia, is derived from a comparison of the several routes leading from Dorylæum, as stated in the ancient itineraries, with their directions on the map. These roads are five in number; and though little reliance can be placed upon the distances between the several places, the order of names furnishes evidence that cannot be very erroneous, and the positions of the places at

* Nacoleia was the chief fortress of this country in the reign of Arcadius, whose officer, Count Tribigild, with a garrison of Ostrogoths, rebelled against the Emperor, and reduced all the neighbouring country. Philostorg. l. 11. c. 8. For an account of the rebellion of Gainas and Tribigild, which illustrates several points of Asiatic geography, see Gibbon, c. 32, and the authors to whom he refers.

the extremity of each route are known with tolerable accuracy. The first of the roads, as they are arranged in the subjoined note *, led by Midaium to Pessinus; the second by Archelaium to Germa, now Yerma; the third conducted south-eastward to Synnada, Philomelium, and Laodiceia Combusta (now Yorgán Ladík); the fourth by Nacoleia and Eumenia to Apameia Cibotus; and the fifth south-westward, by Cotyaium to Philadelphia (Allah-Shehr). Now, although the site neither of Apa-

* I. Dorileo 28 Mideo 28 Tricomia 21 Pessinunte. Total 77 M. P. to Pessinus: the distance on the map is about 55 G. M. d.

II. Iter a Dorilao:—Arcelaio M. P. 30, Germa M. P. 20. Total 50 M. P: the distance on the map is 57 G. M. d.

III. Dorileo Docymeo 32 Synnada 32 Jullæ 35 Philomelo 28 Laudicia Catacecaumeno. Total 127 M. P. *plus* the distance from Dorylæum to Docimia. The distance upon the map is about 130 G. M. d.

IV. Dorileo 20 Necolea 40 Conni 32 Eucarpia 30 Eumenia Pella 12 ad vicum 14 Apamea Ciboton. Total 148 M. P. The distance upon the map is about 100 G. M. d.

V. Dorileo, 30 Cocleo (lege Cotyæo) 35 Agmonia 25 Aludda 30 Clanudda 35 Philadelfia. Total 155 M. P. The distance upon the map is about 120 G. M. d. The second of these roads is from the Antonine itinerary, the other four from the Peutinger Table.

The proportion between the real distances, and the amount of the several computed distances in Roman miles, shows that the distance, in the itineraries, from one place to another, cannot be relied on to within ten or twelve miles. In many instances, the errors of the Table are still greater.

meia Cibotus, Synnada, nor Pessinus, has yet been explored, their situations are very nearly certain. Apameia was at the source of the Mæander, and bore a little westward of south from Eski-shehr. Nacoleia, therefore, bore in about that direction from Dorylæum; it lay between the roads conducting from that city to Synnada and Laodiceia, and to Cotyaium and Philadelphia; and it was the first town which occurred on the road to Apameia: all which circumstances accurately accord with the position of Doganlú in respect of Eski-shehr.

On first beholding the great sculptured rock of the valley of Doganlú, and on remarking the little resemblance which it bears to the works of the Greeks, our idea was, that it might have been formed by the ancient Persians, when in possession of this country; and that the lower part, resembling an altar, might have had some reference to their worship of fire; but, upon further reflection, there appeared several objections to such a supposition. In the first place, none of the great monuments of the Persians are likely to be found at so great a distance from Susa and Persepolis, in a part of the country of which they had only a temporary possession, and which could never have been considered by them otherwise than as a conquered foreign country, of doubtful tenure. Secondly, the style of ornament does not exactly resemble any known monument of the ancient Persians; and, thirdly,

the characters of the inscriptions, which have every appearance of being coeval with the rest of the work, bear so close a resemblance to the letters of the Greek alphabet, in their earliest form, that the most reasonable conjecture seems to be that this monument is the work of the ancient Phrygians, who, like the Ionians *, Lydians, and other nations of Asia Minor, who were in a state of independence before the Persian conquest, made use of an alphabet differing slightly from the Greek, and derived from the same oriental original. While the form of the characters, as well as the vertical ranges of points for noting the separation of the words, bear a marked resemblance to the archaic Greek: on the other hand, some of the words agree with the semi-barbarous style of the sculptured ornaments of this monument, in indicating that the inscriptions are not in pure Greek. Both in the resemblance and dissimilitude, therefore, they accord with what we should expect of the dialect of the Phrygians, whose connexion with Greece is evident from many parts of their early history; at the same time, that the distinction between the two nations is strongly marked by Herodotus, who gives to the Phrygians the appellation of barbarians.

It is further remarkable that the sculpture of the

* Herodot. l. 1. c. 142., l. 5. c. 59.

monument of Doganlú, though unlike any thing of Greek workmanship, is very much in the same style as the elaborate ornaments (equally remote from Grecian taste) which covered the half columns formerly standing on either side of the door of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ*, a building said to have been erected by the Cyclopes, who were supposed to have been artisans from Asia†.

Upon comparing the alphabet of the monument of Doganlú with the archaic Greek, and with the Etruscan, it is observable that there is no greater difference between the three than might be expected in distant and long-separated branches of the same family. It may be remarked, however, that the Greek alphabet, and that of Doganlú, resemble each other much more than they resemble the Etruscan, as well in the form of the letters, as in the important circumstance of their being written from left to right, instead of from right to left, as the Etruscan always continued to be‡.

* Some fragments of these are to be seen in the British Museum.

† Strabo, p. 373.

‡ See Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca. There is nothing, however, very surprising in this peculiarity of the Etruscan. The Greek alphabet, like its oriental prototype, was at first written from right to left, then indifferently either way, then alternately, in the manner called boustrophedon; and lastly, from left to right. It was imported into Etruria at a period when it was written in the earliest manner; and the Etruscans, by a practice often observable in colonies, seem to have ad-

It may seem a vain attempt to endeavour to explain inscriptions, written in a language or dialect

hered to the custom after it had been altered in the mother country.

It can no longer be doubted, from a comparison of the military architecture and other arts of the Etruscans with those of the Greeks, as well as from that of their language and writing, so ably investigated by Lanzi, that the two people had a common origin, or a common source of civilization. This source, in the opinion of the Greeks, was a people called Pelasgi, the last seat of whose prosperity was the country adjacent to the Thessalian Olympus. Driven away from thence about the fifteenth century before the Christian æra, they migrated to Asia, Crete, Epirus, and a part of them to Etruria; where they are said to have been joined, about two centuries afterwards, by a colony from Lydia. We find an evidence of the skill of the Pelasgi in military architecture, in the circumstance of the Athenians having employed some of those who were settled in Attica to fortify the Acropolis: and it is probable that the peculiar style of building exhibited in the walls of many ancient cities, as well in Greece as in Etruria and Italy, and which is the same in all, had its origin in the Pelasgic school. Hellanicus of Lesbus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, denied that the Etruscans had ever been colonized from Lydia: but in this they were opposed to the general opinion of antiquity, as shown by Herodotus, Strabo, Paterculus, Pliny, Seneca, Plutarch, Appian, Justin, and Tacitus. At the time of the War of Troy, the Pelasgi possessed the fertile plains on the south-eastern side of Mount Ida, and had given the name of the Thessalian Larissa to their chief town. Hom. Il. β. 840. Several other communities in the surrounding parts of Asia Minor were of Pelasgic origin, and Lydia is said to have received one of their colonies. (Plutarch in Romulo, Raoul Rochette Hist. des Colonies Grecques.) Etruria, therefore, in its manners, arts, language, and writing, could not have been very much altered by the addition of a Lydian colony, if any such event ever took place. Among the nume-

of which we have no other remains; yet as the characters are themselves a proof that there was a great resemblance between this dialect and the Greek, it is not impossible that some light may be thrown upon ancient history by the monument of Doganlú, if other inscriptions in the same dialect should hereafter be discovered. Upon this subject one or two remarks occur which may not be unimportant.

It has already been observed, that the lower inscription beginning BABA is complete, and it may be assumed that the upper, though incomplete at either end, has lost but a few letters. This seems evident, as well from its occupying the whole length of a sort of outer pediment, as from its concluding word, which wants only one letter of being the same as the concluding word of the lower inscription. This concluding word

rous instances of resemblance between the Etruscan and Æolic Greek adduced by Lanzi, I shall mention one only, as it is illustrated by a discovery of my own. ΑΠΛV Aplu, we find, by some of the monuments of Etruria, to have been the Etruscan name for Apollo; and Plato, in a passage of the Cratylus referred to by Lanzi, observes that Ἀπλοῦν or Ἀπλὸς was the name of the Thessalian Apollo. Between Larissa and Mount Olympus, in the part of Thessaly which, as late as the time of the Roman empire, was called Pelasgiotis, I found two marbles inscribed with dedications to this deity, ΑΠΛΟΥΝΙ. See Lanzi Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, tomo 2. p. 200, 224; Walpole's Collection of Travels in Turkey, vol. 2. p. 506; Classical Journal, No. 52.

is very remarkable; written in Greek it is ΕΔΑΕ, or ΕΔΑΕΣ. Now ἔδαε from δαίω, to divide or cut with a sharp instrument, is precisely such a Greek word as one might have expected to find in a very ancient *Greek* inscription upon a monument, all the apparent merit of which is the cutting of squares, lozenges, and other regular figures, upon the smoothed surface of a rock. In examining the other words, we find further resemblances of the Greek. The 2d, 3d, and 4th words of the lower inscription, and the first word of the upper inscription (if it be a single word), all seem to end in sigma, and three of them in ος, thus rendering it not improbable that the words 1, 2, 3, 4, of the lower inscription, contained the name and title of the person who engraved that inscription; that the fifth word Σικεμεμαν may have indicated some such distinction, as the place from whence he came; and that the long word, No. 1. of the upper inscription, was the name of the person who placed that inscription. But the most remarkable words of all are the second and fourth of the upper inscription, which, written in Greek, are ΜΙΔΑΙ ΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ, "to King Midas;" and which furnish an immediate presumption that the monument was erected in honour of one of the Kings of Phrygia of the Midaian family. The situation of the place is no less favourable to this supposition than the construction of the monument, the tenor of the inscription, and the form of the

letters; for it cannot be doubted that the valley in which the monument stands is precisely in the heart of the country which formed the ancient kingdom of Phrygia. Strabo remarks, that the royal families of Gordius and Midas possessed the countries adjacent to the river Sangarius, on the banks of which stood the cities of Midaeium and Gordium *. We learn from Pausanias † that Ancyra was founded by Midas, and that in his time there was a fountain in that city, called the fountain of Midas; and both these authors concur in the testimony ‡ that a tribe of Gauls, in seizing the country adjacent to Ancyra and Pessinus, occupied a part of the ancient dominions of the Gordian dynasty. The fertile valleys of the Sangarius, and its branches, seem, therefore, to have formed the central part of the dominions of the kings of Phrygia. According to this supposition, the date of the monument of Doganlú is between the years 740 and 570 before the Christian æra; for that such was nearly the period of the Gordian dynasty appears from Herodotus §, who informs us that Midas, son of Gordius, was the first of the Barbarians who sent offerings to Delphi, and that his offerings were earlier than

* Strabo, p. 568. 576. † Attic. c. 4.

‡ Strabo, p. 571. Paus. *ib.*

§ Herod. l. 1. c. 14. Eusebius places the beginning of the reign of the first Midas in the fourth year of the tenth Olympiad, or 737 B.C.

those of Gyges, king of Lydia, who began his reign B.C. 715. Phrygia lost its independence, when all the country to the west of the Halys was subdued by Crœsus, king of Lydia, in or about the year 572 B.C. A few years afterwards Atys, son of Crœsus, was killed accidentally by Adrastus, who was of the royal family of Phrygia, and son of the Gordius who had been rendered tributary to Crœsus. As this Gordius was son of a Midas *, and the first Midas was son of a Gordius, it is probable that several of the intermediate monarchs of the dynasty, during the two centuries of their independence, bore the same names.

The distinguishing appellation of the particular Midas to whom the monument was dedicated, seems to be contained in the word of the upper inscription, which occurs between Μίδα and ἄνακτι †; but as we possess no details of the history of independent Phrygia, it is impossible to determine to what period in the two centuries the monument of Doganlú is to be ascribed. In regard to the word BABA, which begins the lower in-

* Herod. l. 1. c. 35.

† The first letter of this word appears to be the old gamma, Ⅎ, as written on several ancient monuments. The sixth letter was perhaps a T, of which a part of the upper line has been effaced. Upon this supposition, the name in Greek was ΓΑϜΑΤΤΑΗΣ, which bears a resemblance to the royal Lydian names, Sadyattes, Alyattes.

scription, it was probably the highest title of honour at that period. Papas, or Papias, derived from ΠΑΠΑ, nearly the same word as BABA, and meaning *father*, was a common epithet of Jupiter in this part of Asia Minor at a subsequent period. The dedication to Jupiter Papias, mentioned in a preceding page, was copied from a marble found at no great distance from Doganlú: and we are informed by an ancient author, that Papas was the name of the Bithynian Jupiter *. In another part of the country we find the title applied, by a natural descent, to the magistrate of a city †; and it was a common name among the Etruscans, the kinsmen of the Phrygians ‡.

Close by this magnificent relic of Phrygian art is a very large sepulchral chamber with a portico, of two columns, excavated out of the same reddish sandstone of which the great monument and other rocks are formed. The columns have a plain plinth at the top, and are surmounted by a row of dentils along the architrave. They are of a tapering form, which, together with the general proportions of the work, give it an appearance of the Doric order,

* Arrian. ap. Eustath in Il. ε. p. 429.

† An inscription found by Pococke, at Nysa in the valley of the Mæander, qualifies one Artemidorus as Παπὰς τῶν τῆς πόλεως στρατηγῶν, and as Παπὰς ἄρχων. Pococke Inscr. Ant. p. 13.

‡ Lanzi, tom. 2. p. 144.

although, in fact, it contains none of the distinctive attributes of that order. It is an exact resemblance of the ordinary cottages of the peasants, which are square frames of wood-work, having a portico supported by two posts made broader at either end. The sepulchral chambers differ only in having their parts more accurately finished; the dentils correspond to the ends of the beams, supporting the flat roof of the cottage.

I cannot quit the subject of this interesting valley without expressing a wish that future travellers, who may cross Asia Minor by the routes of Eski-shehr or Kutáya, will employ a day or two in a more complete examination of it than circumstances allowed to us; as it is far from improbable that some inaccuracy or omission may have occurred in our copy of the inscriptions, from the singularity of the characters, the great height of one of the inscriptions above the ground, and the short time that was allowed us for transcribing and revising them.

After leaving the great sculptured rock, we followed the valley for a short distance, and then passed through a wild woody country, having met scarcely any traces of habitations till we reached our konák, at the little village which receives its appellation from the Khan built there by a Pasha of the name of Kosru; and where we arrived at five in the evening, having, according to our calculation, made a

circuit of nine or ten miles more than the direct distance from Seid-el-Gházi. We had a sharp shower of hail as we galloped through the wood, but the weather soon cleared again.

Jan. 28.—From Kosru Khan to Bulwudún, twelve hours. We rose at two in the morning: the baggage set off at five, ourselves at six. The road lay through several small woody valleys, and towards the latter part of our journey across a ridge of hills, with a fine soil, containing a few cultivated patches of ground, but for the most part overgrown with brushwood; at intervals we saw a few flocks of sheep and goats, and in one place a large herd of horned cattle. We saw many sepulchral chambers excavated in the rocks, some of which were ornamented on the exterior; others were plain. In several parts of our route, also, were appearances of extensive quarries, from some of which was probably extracted the celebrated Phrygian marble, called Synnadicus, or Docimitis, from the places where it was found.

This marble was so much esteemed that it was carried to Italy *; and such was the force of fashion or prejudice, that Hadrian placed columns of it in his new buildings at Athens †, where the surrounding mountains abound in the finest marble. At about ten miles from Bulwudún we came in sight

* Strabo, p. 577. † Paus. Att. c. 18.

of that town with a lake beyond it: to the southward was the high range of mountains called Sultán-dagh, and parallel to it, on the northern side of the plain of Bulwudún, the Emír-dagh.

From hence we descended by a long slope to Bulwudún, which is situated in the plain. It is a place of considerable size, but consists chiefly of miserable cottages. There are many remains of antiquity lying about the streets, and around the town, but they appeared to be chiefly of the time of the Constantinopolitan empire. At Bulwudún we had to make choice of two roads to the coast; one leading to Satalía, the other, by Kónia and Karaman, to Kelénderi. We prefer the latter on account of the uncertainty of the long passage by sea from Satalía to Cyprus at this season of the year; and we are informed that all the Grand Vizier's Tatárs now take the Kónia road.

Jan. 29.—From Bulwudún to Ak-shehr, eleven hours. For the first two hours the road traversed the plain which lies between Bulwudún and the foot of Sultán-dagh; towards the latter a long causeway traverses a marshy tract, through the middle of which runs a considerable stream. This river comes from the plains and open country, which extend on our right as far as Afiom Karahissár, and joins the lake which occupies the central and lowest part of the plain lying between the parallel ranges of Sultán-dagh and Emír-dagh. Our road continues in

a S. E. direction along the foot of Sultán-dagh; it is perfectly level, and, owing to the dry weather, in excellent condition. On our left were the lake and plains already mentioned. The ground was every where covered with frost, and the hills on either side of the valley with snow; but these appearances of winter vanished as the day advanced, and from noon till three P. M. the sun was warmer than we found agreeable; our faces being exposed to it by that most inconvenient head-dress, the Tatar Kalpak. Our Surigis (postillions) wore a singular kind of cloak of white camels' hair felt, half an inch thick, and so stiff that the cloak stands without support when set upright upon the ground. There are neither sleeves nor hood; but only holes to pass the hands through, and projections like wings upon the shoulders for the purpose of turning off the rain. It is of the manufacture of the country. At the end of six hours we passed through Saakle or Isaklú, a large village surrounded with gardens and orchards, in the midst of a small region well watered by streams from Sultán-dagh, and better cultivated than any place we have seen since we left the vicinity of Isnik and Lefke. Yet the Aga of Isaklú is said to be in a state of rebellion; and this is not the first instance we have seen of places in such a state being more flourishing than others; whence we cannot but suspect that there is a connexion in this empire between the prosperity of a

district and the ability of its chieftain to resist the orders of the Porte. This is nothing more than the natural consequence of their well-known policy of making frequent changes of provincial governors, who, purchasing their governments at a high price, are obliged to practise every kind of extortion to reimburse themselves, and secure some profit at the expiration of their command. It seems that the Aga of Isaklú, having a greater share of prudence and talents than usually falls to the lot of a Turk in office, has so strengthened himself that the Porte does not think his reduction worth the exertion that would be required to effect it, and is, therefore, contented with the moderate revenue which we are told he regularly remits to Constantinople. In the mean time he has become so personally interested in the prosperity of the place, that he finds it more to his advantage to govern it well than to enrich himself rapidly by the oppressive system of the other provincial governors. The territory of Isaklú contains several dependent villages to which fertility is ensured by the streams descending from Sultán-dagh. We here observe a greater quantity and variety of fruit-trees than in any place in Asia Minor we have yet seen. Their species are the same as those which grow in the middle latitudes of Europe, as apples, pears, walnuts, quinces, peaches, grapes; no figs, olives, or mulberries *.

* Strabo, however, informs us that anciently these plains

The climate, therefore, though now so mild, and exposed undoubtedly to excessive heat in summer, is not warmer upon the whole than the interior of Greece and Italy.

We follow the level grounds at the foot of Sultán-dagh until we come in sight of Ak-shehr (white city), a large town, situated, like Isaklú, on the foot of the mountains, and furnished with the same natural advantages of a fertile soil, and a plentiful supply of water. It is surrounded with many pleasant gardens, but in other respects exhibits the usual Turkish characteristics of extensive burying-grounds, narrow dirty streets, and ruined mosques and houses. At a small distance from the western entrance of the town we pass the sepulchre of Nureddin Hoja, a Turkish saint, whose tomb is the object of a Mussulman pilgrimage. It is a stone monument of the usual form, surrounded by an open colonnade supporting a roof; the columns have been taken from some ancient Greek building. The burying-ground is full of remains of Greek architecture converted into Turkish tomb-stones, and furnishes ample proof of Ak-shehr having been the position of a Greek city of considerable importance. The only apartment our Konakjí could procure for us at Ak-shehr was a ruinous chamber in the Menzil-hané (post-house); and the Aga

bore olives: he describes the plain of Synnada as an ἐλαιόφυτον πεδίον.

sending insolent messages in return to our remonstrances, we resolve, though at the end of a long day's journey, upon setting out immediately for the next stage. While the horses are preparing, we eat our *kebáb* in the burying-ground, and take shelter from the cold of the evening in the tent of some camel-drivers, who were enjoying their pipes and coffee over a fire. On our arrival, we had observed the people fortifying their town, by erecting one of the simplest gates that was ever constructed for defence. It consisted of four uprights of fir, supporting a platform covered with reeds, in front of which was a breastwork of mud-bricks with a row of loop-holes. These gates and a low mud-wall are the usual fortifications of the smaller Asiatic towns. In one place we saw the gates standing alone without any wall to connect them.

The lake of Ak-shehr is not close to the town as D'Anville has marked it on his map; but at a distance of six or eight miles: it communicates by a stream with that of Bulwudún, and after a season of rain, when these lakes are very much increased in size, they form a continued piece of water, thirty or forty miles in length. It is probable that D'Anville was equally mistaken in placing Antioch of Pisidia at Ak-shehr: for if Sultán-dagh is the Phrygia Paroreia of Strabo, as there is reason to believe, Antioch should, according to the same authority,

be on the south side of that ridge; whereas Ak-shehr is on the north.

At six in the evening we set out from Ak-shehr, and at one in the morning of January 30 arrived at Arkut-khan. Our pace was much slower than by day. The road lay over the same open level country as before, and towards the latter part of the route, over some undulations of ground, which separate the waters running into the lake of Ak-shehr from those which flow into the lake of Ilgún. The weather was frosty and clear, but very dark after eleven o'clock, when the moon set. Several of our party then became so oppressed by sleep as to find it difficult to save themselves from falling from the horses. After two or three hours' repose at Arkut-khan, we pursued our route for three hours to Ilgún, a large but wretched village, containing some scattered fragments of antiquity, where we procured some eggs and kaimak (boiled cream) for breakfast, and then continued our route to Ladík. From near Ak-shehr, the loftier summits of the range of Sultán-dagh begin to recede from our direction towards the south; and our route has continued through the same wide uncultivated champaign, intersected by a few ridges, and by torrents running from the Sultán-dagh to the lakes in the plain. At two hours is a more considerable stream, crossed by a bridge, and discharging itself into the lake of Ilgún. Six hours beyond Ilgún

we pass through the large village of Kadún-kiúi, or Kanun-haná, said to consist of 1000 houses; and three hours further we come to Yorgan-Ladík, or Ladik-el-Tchaus, another large place, famous throughout Asia Minor for its manufacture of carpets; and advantageously situated in a well-watered district, among some low hills to the northward of which lies a very extensive plain.

The road through the open country which we have passed has been wide, well beaten, fit for any carriage, and, owing to the late dry weather, in an excellent state. We continue to enjoy a sky without a cloud: there is generally a slight breeze from the east in the day: in the afternoon the sun is hot; and at night the sky is perfectly calm and clear, with a sharp frost, which in the shaded places generally continues to a late hour in the afternoon.

The plains between Arkut-Khan and Ladík are traversed by several low stony ridges, and by streams running towards the lake of Ilgún. The country is bare and open; not a tree or inclosure was to be seen, nor any appearance of cultivation, except in small patches around a few widely-scattered villages. The country to our right forms the district of Dogan-hissár, a town belonging to the Sanjak of Ak-shehr. To the left is seen the continuation of the series of long narrow lakes which begin near Bulwudún: they receive the torrents running from the surrounding mountains, and are greatly en-

larged in winter, but in summer are entirely dried up.

Jan. 31.—From Ladík to Kónia nine hours; the road excellent, and weather very fine; the sun even scorching, and much too glaring for our exposed eyes. At Ladík we saw more numerous fragments of ancient architecture and sculpture than at any other place upon our route. Inscribed marbles, altars, columns, capitals, frizes, cornices, were dispersed throughout the streets and among the houses and burying-grounds; the remains of Laodiceia *κατακεκαυμένη*, anciently the most considerable city in this part of the country. At less than an hour's distance from the town, on the way to Kónia, we met with a still greater number of remains of the same kind, and copied one or two sepulchral inscriptions of the date of the Roman empire. The following fragment appears to be part of an imprecation against any person who should violate the tomb upon which it is inscribed.

ΤΟΝ ΒΩΜΟΝ ΑΔΙΚΗϹΕΙ
Η ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦ
ΟΝ ΤΙ ΟΡΦΑΝΑ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΛΙΠΟΙ
.....
ΤΟΝ ΧΗΡΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ Ϲ
ΡΙΜΟΝ

Soon after we had quitted this spot, we entered upon a ridge branching eastward from the great mountains on our right, and forming the northern boundary of the plain of Kónia. On the descent

from this ridge we came in sight of the vast plain around that city, and of the lake which occupies the middle of it, and we saw the city with its mosques and ancient walls, still at the distance of 12 or 14 miles from us. To the north-east nothing appeared to interrupt the vast expanse but two very lofty summits covered with snow, at a great distance. They can be no other than the summits of Mount Argæus above Kesaría, and are, consequently, near 150 miles distant from us, in a direct line. To the south-east the same plains extend as far as the mountains of Karaman, which to the south-west of the plains are connected with the mountains of Khatun-serái, on the other side of which lies Bey-shehr and the country of the ancient Isaurians; and these bending westward in the neighbourhood of Kónia form a continuous range with the ridge of Sultán-dagh, of which we have been following the direction ever since we left Bulwudún. At the south-east extremity of the plains beyond Kónia we are much struck with the appearance of a remarkable insulated mountain, called Karadagh (black mountain), rising to a great height, covered at the top with snow, and appearing like a lofty island in the midst of the sea. It is about sixty miles distant, and beyond it are seen some of the summits of the Karaman range, which cannot be less than ninety miles from us; yet it is surprising with what distinctness the form of the ground and

of the woods is seen in this clear atmosphere. As far as I have observed, the air is much more transparent in a fine winter's day in this climate than it is in summer, when, notwithstanding the breeze of wind which blows, there is generally a haze in the horizon, caused probably by the constant stream of vapour which rises from the earth. The situation of the town of Karaman is pointed out to us exactly in the line of our route, a little to the right of Mount Karadagh. After descending into the plain we move rapidly over a road made for wheel-carriages; the first we have met with since we left the neighbourhood of Skutári.

At Kónia we are comfortably accommodated in the house of a Christian belonging to the Greek church, but who is ignorant of the language, which is not even used in the church-service: they have the four Gospels and the Prayers printed in Turkish. At the head of the Greek community is a Metropolitan bishop, who has several dependent churches in the adjacent towns. As it is now the moon Ramazan, when the Turks neither take nourishment nor receive visits till after sunset, we are obliged to defer our visit to the Governor of Kónia till the evening. He is a Pasha of three tails, but inferior in rank to the Governor of Kutáya, who has the title of Anadol-Beglerbeg, or Anadol-Valesi, and who has the chief command of all the Anatolian troops when they join the Imperial camp.

Our visit, as usual among the Turks, was first to the Kiaya, or Deputy, and afterwards to the Pasha. The entrance into the court of the Serai was striking; portable fires of pine-wood placed in a grating fixed upon a pole, and stuck into the ground, were burning in every part of the court-yard; a long line of horses stood ready saddled; attendants in their gala-clothes were seen moving about in all directions, and trains of servants, with covered dishes in their hands, showed that the night of a Turkish fast is a feast. The building had little in unison with these appearances of gaiety and magnificence, being a low shabby wooden edifice, with ruinous galleries and half-broken window frames; but it stands upon the site of the palace of the ancient sultans of Iconium, and contains some few remains of massy and elegant Arabic architecture, of an early date. The inside of the building seemed not much better than the exterior, with the exception of the Pasha's audience-chamber, which was splendidly furnished with carpets and sofas, and filled with a great number of attendants in costly dresses. The Pasha, as well as his deputy in the previous visit, received us with haughtiness and formality, though with civility. The Pasha promised to send forward to Karaman for horses to be ready to carry us to the coast, and to give us a travelling order for konáks upon the road. After passing through the usual ceremony of coffee,

sweetmeats, sherbet, and perfumes, which in a Turkish visit of ceremony are well known to follow in the order here mentioned, we return to our lodging. Nothing can exceed the greediness of the Pasha's attendants for Bakshish. Some accompany us home with mashallahs (the torches above mentioned), and others with silver wands. Soon after our return to our lodgings we are visited by a set of the Pasha's musicians, who seem very well to understand that after our fatigues we shall be glad to purchase their absence at a handsome price; but no sooner are they gone than another set make their appearance; the Kahwejí, the Tutunjí, and a long train of Tchokadars; and these being succeeded by people of the town, who come simply to gratify their curiosity, it is not till a late hour that we are at liberty to retire to rest.

The circumferenee of the walls of Kónia is between two and three miles, beyond which are suburbs not much less populous than the town itself. The walls strong and lofty, and flanked with square towers, which at the gates are built close together, are of the time of the Seljukian kings, who seem to have taken considerable pains to exhibit the Greek inscriptions, and the remains of architecture and sculpture belonging to the ancient Iconium, which they made use of in building their walls. We perceived a great number of Greek altars, inscribed stones, columns, and other fragments in-

serted into the fabric, which is still in tolerable preservation throughout the whole extent. None of the Greek remains that I saw seemed to be of a very remote period, even of the Roman Empire. We observed in several places Greek crosses, and figures of lions, of a rude sculpture ; and on all the conspicuous parts of the walls and towers, Arabic inscriptions, apparently of a very early date. The town, suburbs, and gardens around are plentifully supplied with water from streams, which flow from some hills to the westward, and which to the north-east join a lake varying in size according to the season of the year. We are informed that in the winter and after the melting of the snows upon the surrounding mountains, the lake is swollen with immense inundations, which spread over the great plains to the eastward for near fifty miles. At present there is not the least appearance of any such inundation, the usual autumnal rains having failed, and the whole country labouring under a severe drought. The gardens of Kónia abound with the same variety of fruit-trees which we remarked in those of Isaklú and Ak-shehr ; and the country around supplies grain and flax in great abundance. In the town carpets are manufactured, and they tan and dye blue and yellow leather. Cotton, wool, hides, and a few of the other raw materials which enrich the superior industry and skill of the manufacturers of Europe, are sent to

Smyrna by the caravans. The low situation of the town and the vicinity of the lake seem not to promise much for the salubrity of Kónia; but we heard no complaint on this head; and as it has in all ages been well inhabited, these apparent disadvantages are probably corrected by the dryness of the soil, and the free action of the winds over the surrounding levels. The most remarkable building in Kónia is the tomb of a saint, highly revered throughout Turkey, called Hazret Mevlana, the founder of the Mevlevi Dervishes. His sepulchre, which is the object of a Mussulman pilgrimage, is surmounted by a dome, standing upon a cylindrical tower of a bright green colour. The city, like all those renowned for superior sanctity, abounds with Dervishes, who meet the passenger at every turning of the streets, and demand paras with the greatest clamour and insolence. Some of them pretend to be idiots, and are hence considered as entitled to peculiar respect, or at least indulgence. The bazars and houses have little to recommend them to notice.

CHAPTER II.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE CENTRAL PART OF ASIA MINOR.

Geographical Structure of the Country—Ancient Sites near the Road from Eski-Shehr to Kónia—Polybotum—Synnada—Docimia—Metropolis—Julia—Philomelium—Tyriaium—Iconium—Ancient Sites between Iconium and Mazaca or Cæsareia—Tyana—Castabala—Cybistra—Cilician Taurus—Archalla—Country called Axylus—Lycaonian Downs—Garsabora—Coropassus—Sabatra—Lakes Coralis, Trogitis, and Tatta—Germa—Orcistus—Places in the ancient Itineraries on the Road from Ancyra to the Pylæ Ciliciæ, Archelais, &c.—Roads in the Peutinger Table across the Taurus to the southern Coast—Juliopolis or Gordium—Pessinus—Amorium—Santabaris—Pœmanene—Orcaoryci—Pitnisus—Caballum—Tolistochora—Sub-divisions of Galatia.

BEFORE we pursue our route beyond the capital of the Greek province Lycaonia and of the Turkish kingdom Karamán, it may be right to offer a few remarks upon the general geography of this part of the peninsula, and upon the situation of some of the opulent and celebrated cities which anciently adorned it.

From the sources of the Sangarius and Halys on the north and east, to the great summits of Mount Taurus on the south-west and south, there is an extent of country nearly 250 miles long and 150 broad, in which the waters have no communication with the sea. Its southern part consists of fertile

valleys or of extensive plains intersected by a few ranges of hills, and it is bounded to the southward by the great ridges of Mount Taurus, from whence are poured forth numerous streams, which, after fertilizing the valleys, collect their superabundant waters in a chain of lakes, extending from the neighbourhood of Synnada in Phrygia through the whole of Lycaonia to the extremity of the Tyanitis in Cappadocia. In the rainy season these lakes overflow the lower part of the plains, and would often form one entire inundation 200 miles in length, were it not for some ridges which traverse the plains and separate them into several basins. By the structure of the hills, and the consequent course of the waters, these basins form themselves into three principal recipients, having no communication with one another, unless it be in very extraordinary seasons. These are, 1. The recipient of Karahissár and Ak-shehr. 2. That of Ilgún and Ladik, which receives I believe the superfluous water of the lake of Karajeli as well as that from the slopes of the neighbouring mountains. 3. The recipient of Kónia, which collects the overflowings of the lakes of Sidyshehr and Beyshehr. 4. The basin lying between the Cilician Taurus to the south-east and the Cappadocian mountains in the opposite direction, which mountains are now called the Hassan Daghi, and give rise to the western branch of the Halys. Were the

bountiful intentions of Providence seconded by a rational government, the inundations would but prepare the plains for an abundant harvest: at present they water only an immense extent of pasture land*, while the lakes supply the surrounding inhabitants with fish, and with reeds for the construction of their miserable cottages.

Concerning two of the ancient sites traversed by the modern road leading from Eski-Shehr to Kónia, there can be little doubt. The modern name of Ladik is decisive of its being upon the site of Laodiceia Combusta, and the sound of Πολυβοτόν as pronounced by the modern Greeks, with the accent on the last syllable, so nearly resembles that of Bulwudún, that the latter name is probably a Turkish corruption of the former. The position of Bulwudún, moreover, agrees perfectly with that ascribed to Polybotum in the narrative of Anna Comnena†. Polybotum, however, is mentioned only in the history of the Lower Empire‡: and although from the 6th to

* Of pasture there appears from Cicero to have been a great abundance in Asia Minor, even when the country was still famous for the exuberance of its agricultural productions. Asia tam opima est et fertilis ut et ubertate agrorum et diversitate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine earum rerum quæ exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. (Cicero pro lege Manil.) But probably even as early as the time of Cicero, Asia had suffered from the wars and military despotism of the Romans. † Lib. 11. p. 323. Lib. 15. p. 471.

‡ It was a bishoprick under the metropolitan of Synnada, in whose province were also Nacoleia and Dorylæum.

the 12th century it appears to have been with Philomelium and Iconium the chief city of these vast plains*, its name is not found in the earlier periods of history, when Synnada, Philomelium, and Iconium seem to have been the principal places†. The position of Polybotum, therefore, affords us no assistance in tracing the other ancient places on the main route between Dorylæum and Laodiceia.

Of these places the most important to determine is Synnada, which indeed is in some measure the key to the ancient geography of the central parts of Asia Minor. It appears from the Table that Synnada was on the road from Dorylæum to Philomelium and Laodiceia Combusta,—from Livy, that it was in the way from the country lying eastward of Apameia Cibotus towards the frontiers of Galatia,—and from Cicero‡, that it was in the way or nearly so from Apameia to Philomelium and Iconium. The crossing of these lines will fall not far from the modern Bulwudún, as appears from the route of Pococke in his way from the upper valley of the Mæander to Ancyra. It is highly probable, therefore, that the extensive quarries which we saw on the road from Khosrukhan to Bulwudún are those of Docimia, a small town in the plain of Synnada,

* Procop. Hist. Ar. c. 18. Anna Com. ib. A bishop of Polybotum sat in the second Nicene Council, A. D. 787.

† Cicero ad Att. l. 5. ep. 20. ad Divers. l. 3. ep. 8.

‡ Cic. ib. et ad Div. l. 15. ep. 4.

celebrated for the marble extracted from thence in large quantities, and sent even to Rome. This marble was known to the Romans by the name of Synnadic, from the more important town of Synnada, which was only sixty stades distant from Docimia *.

It is difficult to ascertain the name of the ancient city which occupied the remarkable position of Karahissár, which is distinguished from some other towns of the same name by the epithet of Afiom, in reference to its abundant produce of opium. D'Anville supposed it to be the site of Apameia; but the waters of Karahissár, instead of running into the Mæander, of which the principal sources were at Apameia, flow to the lake of Bulwudún. Pococke asserts that he found an inscription at Karahissár, which proves it to be the site of Prymnesia; but upon referring to his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, it appears that the inscription to which he alludes is nothing more than the memorial of a man whose name ends in MENNEAΣ, and who with his wife had constructed a tomb for themselves and their only daughter. A few miles southward of Karahissár are the fountains of a branch of the Mæan-

* Σύνναδα δ' ἔστιν οὐ μεγάλη πόλις· πρόκειται δ' αὐτῆς ἐλαιόφυτον πεδίον ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίων· ἐπέκεινα δ' ἐστὶ Δοκιμία κώμη καὶ τὸ λατόμιον τοῦ Συνναδικοῦ λίθου· οὕτω μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Δοκιμίτιν καὶ Δοκιμαῖον, &c. Strabo, p. 577.

der; it is probably the Obrimas, whose sources according to Livy were at Aporis *. As the Consul Manlius entered the plain of Metropolis from Aporis, and marched onward to Synnada and Beudos vetus in his way towards Galatia, there is some reason to think that Karahissár stands on the site of Metropolis.

If we suppose the Beudos vetus of the Latin historian to have been at Beiad, from the similarity of name and the proximity of Beiad to the site of Synnada (for Beudos, according to Livy, was only five Roman miles from Synnada), we shall find that the distance from Karahissár to Beiad, which is twenty G. M. direct, agrees very exactly with the march of two days and five miles by the Consul Manlius, according to the mean rate of armies reduced a little in consequence of the plunder which, as the historian tells us, impeded the movement of

* Apamiam .... ante adpellatam Celænas, dein Ciboton. Sita est in radice montis Signiæ, circumfusa Marsya, Obrima Orga fluminibus, in Mæandrum cadentibus. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.

Inde in agrum Sagalassenum ..... Progressus inde ad Obrimæ fontes ad vicum, quem Aporidis Comen vocant, posuit castra ..... profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum, postero die Dinias Phrygiæ processit. Inde Synnada venit, metu omnibus circa oppidis desertis, quorum jam præda grave agmen vix quinque millium die toto itinere perfecto, ad Beudos quod vetus appellant pervenit. Ad Anabura inde, &c. Liv. Hist. l. 38. c. 15.

the Romans. It will be found, moreover, that the situation of Metropolis at Karahissár, accords extremely well with the description given by Artemidorus of the road through Asia from Ephesus to Mazaca or Cæsareia in Cappadocia, which, after ascending the valley of the Mæander to its sources at Apameia, proceeded by Metropolis and through Phrygia Paroreius to the termination of that district at Tyriaium; and thence through Lycaonia to Garsabora and Mazaca*: for although the distances on that road in our copies of Strabo from Apameia as far as Laodiceia Combusta will not bear examination,—and although Karahissár does not fall in the direct line from Ephesus to Mazaca,—neither of these objections can be considered of much weight: the inaccuracy of numbers in the ancient MSS. is

* Ἐπεὶ δὲ κοινή τις ὁδὸς τέτριπται ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐξ Ἐφέσου καὶ ταύτην ἔπεισιν. Ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ Κάρουρα τῆς Καρίας ὅριον πρὸς τὴν Φρυγίαν διὰ Μαγνησίας καὶ Τραλλέων, Νύσης, Ἀντιοχείας, ὁδὸς 740 σταδίων. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ Φρυγία διὰ Λαοδικείας καὶ Ἀπαμείας καὶ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Χελιδονίων· ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Παρωρείου τοὺς Ὅλμους στάδιοι περὶ 920 ἐκ τῶν Καρούρων· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῇ Λυκαονίᾳ πέρας τῆς Παρωρείου τὸ Τυριάϊον διὰ Φιλομηλίου μικρῷ πλείους τῶν 500. Εἶθ' ἡ Λυκαονία μέχρι Κοροπασσοῦ διὰ Λαοδικείας τῆς Κατακεκαυμένης 840· ἐκ δὲ Κοροπασσοῦ τῆς Λυκαονίας εἰς Γαρσάουρα, πολίχνιον τῆς Καππαδοκίας, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων αὐτῆς ἱδρυμένον, 120· ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Μάζακα, τὴν μητρόπολιν τῶν Καππαδόκων διὰ Σοάνδου καὶ Σαδακόρων 680· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι Τομισῶν, χωρίου τῆς Σοφηνῆς διὰ Ἱρφῶν πολίχνης 1440. Artemidorus ap. Strab. p. 663.

too common an occurrence to overthrow other testimony; and the divergence of the ancient road to the northward at Karahissár, was evidently occasioned by the projection of that part of Mount Taurus which is now called the Sultan-dagh, and which causes so many of the modern routes to pass through Karahissár.

Though the proportionate distances do not exactly agree with the numbers in the Table, it may be inferred from the remains of antiquity at Akshehr and Ilgún, that these were the Jullæ and Philomelium named in that itinerary. Strabo describes Philomelium as being in the midst of a plain on the north side of the hills of Paroreia; his description* of which district agrees exactly with the Sultan-dagh and the plain on its northern side. Its position no less accords with the testimony of Artemidorus cited in the preceding page, according to whom the road from Apameia to Mazaca led through the Paroreia. And the territory of Philomelium appears from the narrative of Anna Comnena† to have been at no great distance from

* Ἡ μὲν οὖν Παρώρεια ὀρεινήν τινα ἔχει ῥάχιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκτεινομένην ἐπὶ δύσιν· ταύτῃ δ' ἑκατέρωθεν ὑποπέπτωκέ τι πεδίον μέγα καὶ πόλεις πλησίον αὐτῆς, πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν Φιλομήλιον, ἐκ θατέρου δὲ μέρους Ἀντιόχεια, ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ καλουμένη, ἡ μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη πᾶσα, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ λόφου, ἔχουσα ἀποικίαν Ῥωμαίων. Strabo, p. 577. It is evident from this passage how greatly the discovery of Antioch of Pisidia would assist the comparative geography of all the adjacent country.

† Lib. 15. p. 473.

that of Iconium; for as soon as the Emperor Alexius had taken Philomelium from the Turks, his troops spread themselves over the country round Iconium. The lake of the Forty Martyrs mentioned in this narrative corresponds also with that of Ilgún, so that it will probably be found that Ilgún stands upon the site of Philomelium.

The Jullæ of the Table seems to be a false writing for Julia, a name which became common in every part of the Roman world under the Cæsars; and it is probably the same place as the Juliopolis placed by Ptolemy * in the part of the country where stood Synnada, and Philomelium. But there can be little doubt that so fine a situation as that of Ak-shehr was occupied, before the time of the Cæsars, by some important place, which on its being repaired or re-established may have assumed the new name of Julia or Juliopolis.

Of the cities mentioned by Xenophon on the route of Cyrus through Phrygia into Lycaonia, Tyriaium and Iconium are the only two which occur in later authors. Tyriaium, which is named by Hierocles as well as by Strabo (from Artemidorus), is shown by the latter to have been between Philomelium and Iconium. It must consequently have been at no great distance from Laodiceia, although this situation is quite incompatible with

* lib. 5. c. 2.

the distance which Xenophon has stated between Tyriaium and Iconium *.

* The following was the route of Cyrus, according to Xenophon :—

	Stathmi.	Parasangs.
From Celænæ, afterwards Apameia Cibotus, to Peltæ,	2	or 10
Ceramorum Agora, at the end of Mysia,	2	— 12
Caystri Campus (a city),	3	— 30
Thymbrium, where was the fountain of Midas,	2	— 10
Tyriaium,	2	— 10
Iconium,	3	— 20
Through Lycaonia,	5	— 30
Through Cappadocia to Dana (Tyana),	4	— 25
Total	23	92

In Major Rennell's work on the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, the reader will see the extreme difficulty of fixing the places on this route. Indeed there seems no mode of reconciling Xenophon with other geographical authorities than by supposing great errors in his numbers; for it is difficult to believe that his Καΰστρου πεδίον is not the same as that which Strabo (p. 629.) describes as watered by the Caystrus and situated on the south side of Mount Tmolus. In like manner there is the greatest reason to think that Thymbrium and the fountain of Midas were on the branch of the Sangarius called Thymbres in the country which formed the kingdom of Midas, and not in the plains between Ak-shehr and Ilgún, where we must place Thymbrium, if we follow the evidence of Xenophon's numbers. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that this itinerary of Xenophon is so incorrect that very little reliance can be placed on its authority. We have a strong proof of its inaccuracy in the positive assertion of Xenophon, that after he had crossed Mount Taurus, he marched twenty-five parasangs (or about seventy-five miles) in four days through the plain of Tarsus to the city, though Tarsus is only ten miles from the foot of that mountain. Xenophon probably meant four days from the halting-place of

In following the march of Cyrus onwards from Iconium towards the Ciliciæ pylæ of Mount Taurus, we find the distances of Xenophon rather more reconcileable with the reality. It is agreed that Dana, which he places at nine marches or fifty-five parasangs from Iconium, was the same place as Tyana, otherwise called Eusebeia ad Taurum, and which under Archelaus and the Romans was the chief town of one of the præfectures of Cappadocia *. It was the only place in that province, except Mazaca, which Strabo thought deserving to be called a city; and under the Byzantine empire it was the capital of the second Cappadocia, and the see of a metropolitan bishop until the Turkish conquest.

There can be little doubt that the site of Tyana is now occupied by Kílisa Hissár, or the Castle of Kílisa near Bor †. This place is acknowledged by

Cyrus, afterwards called the plain of Cyrus, on the north side of Taurus, but his words express the former meaning without the smallest ambiguity. Again, he places ten parasangs between Tarsus and the river Sarus, and only five between the Sarus and the Pyramus, although the real distances are nearly equal.

* Strabo, p. 534, 537, et seq.

† In a rude delineation of the country between Kesaría and Ak-shehr by a bishop of Iconium, published at Vienna in 1812, Bor is written πόρος, which suggests the origin of the word Bor —namely, that it is a Turkish corruption of the Greek πόρος, and that Porus was a suburb of Tyana, so called as being situated at the πόρος, or *passage* of the river, which now runs through Nigde and Bor into a lake near Erkle. Kílisa also is undoubtedly a Greek name (Κίλισσα, the feminine of Κίλιξ), derived from that of the neighbouring Cappadocian præfecture. The

the Greek clergy as the site of their episcopal see of Tyana; it is situated, as Strabo describes Tyana to have been, in a fertile plain not far from the entrance of the Pylæ Ciliciæ, or the easiest and most frequented pass leading over Mount Taurus into Cilicia Pedias and Syria,—and midway in the road to that pass from Mazaca *.

At Kílisa Hissár are found very considerable ruins of an ancient city, among which are those of an aqueduct upon arches, designed to convey water to the town from the hills to the southward, which are connected with the last slopes of Mount Taurus. Aqueducts of this description are indubitable signs of an ancient place which flourished under the Romans, and such we know to have been the condition of Tyana.

Strabo remarks that Castabala and Cybistra were not far from Tyana; that they were nearer than that city to the heights of Taurus; that they belonged to the Cilician præfecture of Cappadocia, and that Cybistra was situated at a distance of three hundred stades from Mazaca †. We learn also from the Table, that Cybistra was on the road from Tyana

substitution of local names for provincial, and of provincial for local, was a kind of change common among the lower Greeks.

* Of course this distance must not be measured horizontally, the road from Mazaca to Tyana being plain, and that from Tyana to the Pylæ very mountainous.

† Strabo, ibid.

to Mazaca, sixty-four Roman miles from the former. These data seem sufficient to fix the site of Cybistra at Karahissár *, where are considerable remains of an ancient city; and they render it probable that the position of Castabala is now occupied by Nigde, where we find similar evidences of an ancient site.

The situation of Cybistra at Karahissár illustrates the interesting account which Cicero has left us of his military operations, in defending Cilicia and Cappadocia against a threatened attack of the Parthians †, when he fixed his camp at Cybistra, because it was on the frontier of the two provinces, but nearer to the great plains of Cappadocia lying to the eastward of Mount Taurus. These plains (he remarks) afford an easy access to Cappadocia from Syria, while nothing can be stronger than Cilicia on the side of Syria. In the end, however, the Parthians having advanced towards Antioch, Cicero was obliged to cross Mount Taurus from Cybistra to Tarsus, from whence he proceeded to clear Mount Amanus of the enemy.

In order thoroughly to understand the reason of one of the præfectures of Cappadocia being called Cilicia by the Romans, it is to be observed that

* D'Anville placed Cybistra at Bustere, which he supposed a corruption of the Greek word; but according to Hadjy Khalfa the name is Kostere not Bustere.

† See particularly the letter to Marcus Cato. Ep. ad Diversos, l. 15. ep. 4.—and that to Atticus, l. 5. ep. 20.

more anciently both the sides of Taurus belonged to the Eleuthero-Cilices, or independent Cilicians; and that the whole range from the plains of Lycaonia to the Antitaurus was called the Cilician Taurus *. Archelaus the last king of Cappadocia, having added all the country on the northern side of the mountain to his kingdom, together with a large portion of Cilicia Tracheia, Tiberius, who put him to death at Rome, included it all, except the maritime parts, in the Roman province of Cappadocia; and he added to the ten præfectures of the late kingdom of Archelaus an eleventh, composed chiefly of his Cilician conquests: and hence called the Cilician præfecture of Cappadocia. Its chief town was Mazaca; it comprehended Cybistra and Castabala, and extended along the mountains on the south side of the Tyanitis as far as Derbe inclusively †. The inconvenience, however, of a division which included in the same district two such distant places as Mazaca and Derbe, seems to have been soon felt: for we find that in the time of Hadrian, Derbe, Laranda, and a neighbouring region

* Ἡ Καππαδοκία ..... οἱ δ' οὖν ὁμόγλωττοι μαλιστά εἰσιν οἱ ἀφοριζόμενοι πρὸς νότον μὲν τῷ Κιλικίῳ λεγομένῳ Ταύρῳ, πρὸς ἕω δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ. Strab. p. 533. Ἡ Καταονία.... Περίκειται δ' ὄρη ἄλλα τε καὶ ὁ Ἄμανος ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νότον μέρους, ἀπόσπασμα ὂν τοῦ Κιλικίου Ταύρου, καὶ ὁ Ἀντίταυρος εἰς τἀναντία ἀπερρωγώς. Strab. p. 535. Ptolemy (l. 5. c. 6.) describes Antitaurus as the mountain which extends from Taurus to the Euphrates.

† Strabo, p. 534.

of Taurus containing the town of Olbasa, formed a separate district called the Antiochiana*; and that the Cilician præfecture was confined to the parts about Mazaca and Cybistra.

The name of Erkle so much resembles the Turkish corruption of Heraclia, as instanced in two cities of that name on the coasts of the Euxine and Propontis, that it has often been supposed that the Erkle on the road from Kónia to the Cilician Pylæ occupied the site of a Heraclia; and Hadji Khalfa even asserts that it was so. No Greek or Latin authorities, however, hint at the existence of a Heraclia in this situation. I have little doubt therefore that Erkle occupies the site of Archalla, named as one of the cities of the Cilician præfecture of Cappadocia †, which, as we have already seen, comprehended Erkle. Erkle, it may be added, is precisely the softened sound which Turks would give to the word Ἀρχαλλα pronounced in the Greek manner with the accent on the first syllable.

To the northward of the region of lakes and plains, through which leads the road from Afiôm Karahissár to Kónia and Erkle, lies a dry and naked region, anciently called Axylus, which extends as far as the Sangarius and Halys. Pococke, who crossed a part of this dreary country,

* Ptolem. l. 5. c. 6. † Ptolem. ibid.

describes it exactly in the same manner as Livy *, though apparently without having adverted to that historian.

The southern part of this open country consists of a range of mountains running parallel to Mount Taurus, and bordering the great valleys of Philomelium, Iconium and Tyana on the northern side. The western part of this range is a summit called Emír-dagh, which rises to a considerable elevation from the lakes of Bulwudún and Ak-shehr, slopes gradually into the open champaign to the eastward, and to the north is bounded by a very broad naked valley, which is included on the opposite side by the hills in which originate some of the branches of the Sangarius. To the N.W. this valley opens into the great *axylous* plains of Phrygia, extending to Dorylæum ; and to the S.E. into those of Galatia or Lycaonia. The ridges lying to the northward

* .... duci inde exercitus per Axylon quam vocant terram cœptus ; ab re nomen habet : non ligni modo quidquam, sed ne spinas quidem, aut ullum aliud alimentum fert ignis. Fimo bubulo pro lignis utuntur. Pococke observes, "They are very much distressed in these parts for fuel, and commonly make use of dried cow-dung." His remark on the abundance of fine fish in the Sangarius had not escaped the notice of the Latin historian: Sangarius .... non tam magnitudine memorabilis quam quod piscium adcolis ingentem vim præbet. Liv. Hist. l. 38. c. 18.

The merit of this accuracy, however, is not due to Livy, but to Polybius, from whom the Latin compiler copied this part of his history.

of Kónia and Erkle form the district described by Strabo as the cold and naked downs of Lycaonia, which furnished pasture to numerous sheep and wild-asses, and where was no water, except in very deep wells. As the limits of Lycaonia are defined by Strabo, and by Artemidorus, whom he quotes *, to have been between Philomelium and Tyriaium on the west, and Coropassus and Garsabora on the east,—which last place was 960 stades from Tyriaium, 120 from Coropassus, and 680 from Mazaca,—we have the exact extent of the Lycaonian hills intended by the geographer. Branching from the great range of Taurus, near Ilgún (Philome-

* Ἥτε δὴ Τάττα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ Ὀρκαορυκοὺς καὶ Πιτνισὸν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Λυκαόνων ὀροπέδια, ψυχρὰ καὶ ψιλὰ καὶ ὀναγρόβοτα, ὑδάτων τε σπάνις πολλὴ· ὅπου δὲ καὶ εὑρεῖν δυνατὸν βαθύτατα φρέατα τῶν πάντων, καθάπερ ἐν Σοάτροις, ὅπου καὶ πιπράσκεται τὸ ὕδωρ· ἔστι δὲ κωμόπολις Γαρσαούρων πλησίον· ὅμως δὲ καίπερ ἄνυδρος οὖσα ἡ χώρα πρόβατα ἐκτρέφει θαυμαστῶς, τραχεῖας δὲ ἐρέας· καί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων μεγίστους πλούτους ἐκτήσαντο. Ἀμύντας δ' ὑπὲρ 300 ἔσχε ποίμνας ἐν τοῖς τόποις τούτοις. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ λίμναι Κώραλις μὲν ἡ μείζων, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων Τρογῖτις. Ἐνταῦθα δέ που καὶ τὸ Ἰκόνιόν ἐστι, πολίχνιον εὖ συνῳκισμένον καὶ χώραν εὐτυχεστέραν ἔχον τῆς λεχθείσης ὀναγροβότου· τοῦτο δ' εἶχε Πολέμων. Πλησιάζει δ' ἤδη τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὁ Ταῦρος, ὁ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ὁρίζων καὶ τὴν Λυκαονίαν πρὸς τοῖς ὑπερκειμένους Κίλικας τοὺς Τραχειώτας. Λυκαόνων δὲ καὶ Καππαδόκων ὅριόν ἐστι τὸ μεταξὺ Κοροπασσοῦ κώμης Λυκαόνων καὶ Γαρσαούρων πολιχνίου Καππαδόκων. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν φρουρίων τούτων 120 που στάδιοι.

Strabo, p. 568.

For the extract from Artemidorus, relating to the same subject, see page 57.

lium), and separating the plain of Laodiceia from that of Iconium, they skirted the great valley which lies to the south-eastward of the latter city, as far as Erkle; comprehending, to the north of Erkle and Bor, a part of the mountains of Hassan Daghi. It would seem that the depopulation of this country, which rapidly followed the decline of the Roman power, and the irruption of the Eastern barbarians, had left some remains of the vast flocks of Amyntas, mentioned by Strabo, in undisturbed possession of the Lycaonian hills to a very late period: for Hadji Khalfa, who describes the want of wood and water in these hills, adds, that there was a breed of wild sheep on the mountain of Fudul Baba, above Ismil, and a tomb of the saint from whom the mountain receives its name: and that sacrifices were offered at the tomb by all those who hunted the wild sheep; and who were taught to believe that they should be visited with the displeasure of heaven, if they dared to kill more than two of these animals at a time *.

At the back of the Lycaonian hills was Soatra, or Sabatra, situated in a part of the country so desolate, that water was sold in the streets. Sabatra

* Hadji Khalfa lived in the middle of the 17th century. Whether any wild asses or wild sheep are still found on the Lycaonian hills, I have never been able to learn; but it is certain that the ὄναγρος, or wild ass, is still hunted on similar hills in many parts of Persia. Naturalists have often confounded this animal with the zebra.

was at a distance of 55 Roman miles from Laodiceia Combusta, and of 44 from Iconium *.

There is some difficulty in understanding to which of the lakes at the foot of the Lycaonian hills we are to apply the names Coralis and Trogitis. Stephanus mentions a city of Carallis, or Caralleia, which he ascribes to Isauria. About the same period of time there was a Caralia belonging to the consular government of Pamphylia, and a bishopric of that province; but which had ceased to be an episcopal see in the ninth century †. If these notices refer to one and the same place, it is probable that the lake of Karajeli is the ancient Coralis, or Caralis; and that the ruins which are found near its shore are those of the town Caralleia ‡. In this case, the lake of Ilgún is probably the Trogitis of Strabo; for it is difficult to suppose that he meant the lake of Iconium by either of those which he names. As to the difference of size which he remarks between them, our information is so imperfect, and the lakes themselves differ so much in size, according to the seasons, that no certain inference can be drawn from this distinction of the geographer.

* Tab. Peutinger. segm. 6.

† Compare Hierocles and the Acts of the Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople, with the Notitiæ Græcorum Episcopatuum.

‡ Livy (l. 38. c. 15.) mentions a Caralitis palus; but it seems to have been situated further westward than Karajeli, and near the Cibyratis.

One of the most remarkable features of this part of Asia Minor is the lake Tatta; which, according to Strabo, produced salt in such abundance, that any substance immersed in it was very soon entirely covered with the crystal; and that birds were unable to fly, if they had dipped their wings in it. The lake still furnishes all the surrounding country with salt, and its produce is a valuable royal farm in the hands of the Pasha of Kir-shehr. In 1638, Sultan Murad the Fourth made a causeway across the lake, upon the occasion of his army marching to take Bagdad from the Persians. The road from Ak-serai and Khoja Hissár to Haimane and to the north-westward, passes across the lake.

The numerous places noticed in ancient history in the country round the lake Tatta, and from thence north-westward as far as Dorylæum, prove that, however naked and disagreeable, it was not unfruitful. The natural landmarks, however, are so few, and the mention of the towns by the ancients is so slight, that it will be difficult for travellers to identify any ruins which may exist, unless where they are assisted by the preservation of the ancient appellations, either in inscriptions or in the modern names. At present, Germa and Orcistus are the only two places whose sites are exactly determined; the former by the modern name of Yerma, the latter by means of a Latin inscription which Po-

cocke copied at the modern village of Alekiam *. Germa was a Roman colony, and probably flourished after the decline of the neighbouring city of Pessinus. Of Orcistus we know nothing, except that its bishop subscribed to the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451, and that it continued to be a see of the ecclesiastical province of the Second or Pessinuntine Galatia until a late period of the Byzantine Empire †.

The documents which chiefly assist in placing the ancient cities of these parts of Lycaonia, Galatia, and Phrygia, are the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries, and the Peutinger Table. It is to be regretted that we can seldom place entire confidence in the distances contained in these authorities—flagrant instances of discrepancy and inaccuracy being so frequent as to make one very cautious in trusting implicitly to them, without some corroborating evidence.

The following is a comparative view of the distances in Roman miles, in the three Itineraries,

* Pococke, in mentioning this inscription in the Narrative of his Travels (vol. 2. part 2. ch. 15.), makes a blunder similar to that which I have noticed relating to another inscription at Afiôm Karahissár. He observes, that the inscription at Alekiam contains the word "Amorianorum:" no such word occurs, but "Orcistanorum" is found twice; and the inscription, which is long and curious, and (what is very uncommon with Pococke) tolerably correct, clearly shows that Alekiam is the site of Orcistus.

† Notitiæ Episcopatuum Græcorum.

between the several places on the great Roman road from Nicæa, by Juliopolis and Ancyra to Tyana, omitting such of the mere changing- or halting-places * as are found only in one of the itineraries, and correcting the orthography of some of the names from the better authority of Strabo, Ptolemy, &c.

	It. Anton. Itinerary of Antoninus.	*It. Hierosol.* Itinerary of Jerusalem.	*Tab.* Peutinger Table.
From Nicæa to Tottaium	44	40	40
Dablæ	28	29	23
Dadastana	45	22	40
Juliopolis	26	25	28
Total from Nicæa to Juliopolis	143	116	131
Laganeos (Agannia in It. Hieros.)	24	24	50
Minizus	23	16	
Ancyra	52	25 + the last 66 from stage Lagania	
Total from Juliopolis to Ancyra	99	about 75	116
Total from Nicæa to Ancyra	242	about 191	247
Ancyra to Corbeus	20	21	
Rosologiacum	12	12	
Aspona	31	31	73 from Ancyra.
Parnassus †	24	35	
Total from Ancyra to Parnassus	87	99	

* In the Jerusalem Itinerary the places are distinguished by the words Civitas, city; Mutatio, changing-place; Mansio, konák.

† These four distances occur again in the Antonine (ed.

	It. Anton. Itinerary of Antoninus.	*It. Hierosol.* Itinerary of Jerusalem.	*Tab.* Peutinger Table.
Ozzala (Iogola in Hieros.)	17	16	
Nitazus (Nitalis in Hier.)	18	18	
Colonia Archelais	27	29	
Total from Parnassus to Archelais	62	63	
Total from Ancyra to Archelais	149	162	118 *
Nazianzus (Nantianulus in Anton., Anathiango in Hieros.)	25	24	
Sasima	24	24	
Andabalis	16	16	27 †
Tyana	16	deest.	
Total from Archelais to Tyana	81	64 + the last stage	68 ‡
Total from Ancyra to Tyana	230	242 §	186

Wessel. p. 205.), in the road from Ancyra to Cæsareia, or Mazaca, as follows—24, 18, 20, 22; but I have rejected them, because those given in the text from the Antonine are confirmed by the Jerusalem as far as Aspona. On the other hand, the 24 M. P. from Aspona to Parnassus, in the Antonine, is so far confirmed by the 22 of the same itinerary in the road to Cæsareia, as to make it probable that the 35 of the Jerusalem is erroneous.

* This part of the route in the Table is very incorrect. Nitazus seems to stand in the place of Corbeus, and *vice versa*; and the *names* of Ancyra and Archelais are omitted.

† This distance is taken from the road from Tyana to Mazaca.

‡ By a route which must have been different from that of the other two itineraries; none of the names being alike.

§ By assuming (from the Antonine) 16 M.P. for the last stage to Tyana.

The Antonine and Jerusalem proceed together as far as Mopsucrene *, 56 M. P. from Tyana in the former and 63 in the latter. From thence the Antonine proceeds by Ægæ to Baiæ and Alexandria ad Issum—and the Jerusalem to the same points by Tarsus and Adana.

Between Tyana and the Pylæ was situated Faustinopolis, probably not far from the camp of Cyrus †; for it can hardly be doubted that Curtius, in stating the Pylæ to have been only fifty stades from the camp of Cyrus, alluded to the beginning of the passes. The narrowest part, which was particularly called the Pylæ, was towards the southern side of the mountain, as the Jerusalem Itinerary ‡ and modern travellers concur in showing.

Of the places contained in the preceding extract from the Itineraries, Andabilis is the only one of which the position is determined by the name in actual use. But there is a strong presumption

* Mopsucrene was 12 M. P. short of Tarsus, and was noted for the death of the Emperor Constantius. The name is disfigured in both the Itineraries. For the correction see the authorities quoted in Cellarius, l. 3. c. 7. § 122.; but particularly Ammianus, l. 21. c. 15., compared with Theophanes Chronog. p. 39. The Antonine seems to have confounded Mopsucrene with Mopsuestia; and hence to have omitted the distance between these two places.

† Xenoph. Anab. l. 1. c. 2. Arrian, l. 2. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 4. Strabo, p. 539.

‡ According to this authority, the post-station of the Pylæ (mutatio Pylæ) was 24 M. P. from Tarsus.

that Ak-serai stands on the site of Archelais, as well from the agreement of its position on a line drawn from A'ngura to Bor with that which the distances in the Itineraries give to Archelais on the same line, as from the remark of Pliny, that this colony of Claudius stood on the Halys; for Ak-serai by all accounts is watered by the stream which forms the western branch of that river. As no traveller, however, has yet described Ak-serai, we are still uninformed whether it stands on the exact site of the ancient colony, or only near it.

Upon comparing together the distances from Nicæa to Tyana in the three itineraries, it is obvious that the Antonine is most to be depended upon; for in some of the important points in which it differs from the Jerusalem it is confirmed by the Table; and in one instance, where it differs from the Jerusalem, and where the Table fails us, it is confirmed by itself in another passage. We may conclude, therefore, in taking the road distance in Roman miles between Nicæa and Ancyra at 242, and from Ancyra to Tyana at 230. Both these measured on my construction in distances of half a degree along the general direction of the route give 150 geographical miles or a rate of $\frac{6\,4}{1\,0\,0}$ of a G. M. to the M. P. on the former road, and of $\frac{6\,5}{1\,0\,0}$ on the latter; both somewhat below the correct rate of the Roman mile on level ground (and such is by far the greater part of this road), but sufficiently near the truth

to give a strong presumption of accuracy both to the ancient numbers and to my construction. It must be confessed, however, that the ancient road which branched to Mazaca from the road Ancyra—Tyana, compared with the map, does not give a similar result. The distance of 114 M. P. between Parnassus and Mazaca in the Antonine Itinerary, compared with the 85 G. M. of the map, gives a rate to the M. P. of not much less than $\frac{75}{100}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a G. M. Future geographers will determine whether my construction is in fault or the Itinerary, which unfortunately on this route we have no means of checking by any other authority.

There are five routes in the Table across Mount Taurus, from the interior plains to the southern coast. The easternmost is not connected at either end; but the word Paduando shows its real position. The Pylæ Ciliciæ was also called the pass of Podandus, which place was about midway between Tyana and Tarsus: this route of the Table, therefore, is evidently intended for that from Tyana to Tarsus; and should be connected accordingly*. Next to this is a road from Iconium, unconnected at its southern

* It should then be read thus,—Tyana .... Aquis Calidis 12 Podando 22 Coriopio 12 in Monte 12 Tarso Ciliciæ. We know from modern travellers, that there are about 12 miles from the foot of the mountain to Tarsus. Coriopium here stands at the same distance from Tarsus as Pylæ in the Jerusalem, and is probably the same place.

extremity, and without any places named on it, except "the boundaries of Cilicia" and "Mount Taurus *." It is evidently intended for the road from Iconium to Tarsus. The third route leads from Iconium by Tetrapyrgia to Pompeiopolis: the sum of its distances from "ad fines" (the boundary of Cilicia) to Pompeiopolis is 54 M.P., or very nearly the same as the distance from the "boundaries" to Tarsus in the former road, and from the "hot waters" to Tarsus, in the first road. It gives us the line of Tetrapyrgia†; a town, therefore, which cannot be the same as that placed by Ptolemy in the Garsauritis of Cappadocia. The fourth road led from Iconium by Taspa, Isaura, and Crunæ to Seleuceia, with a branch leading from between Isaura and Crunæ to Anemurium. It gives us the line of Isaura, but its distances are imperfect‡. The fifth road across the Taurus led from Iconium to Side, with a branch to Antiocheia of Pisidia. The distance in the Table seems to be 80 M. P. to Side, which is about half the reality.

Having drawn upon the map the several routes

* I read it thus. Iconium 20 fines Ciliciæ 25 in Monte Tauro 30 Tarso Ciliciæ: thus connecting the extremity, as in the former instance, with the words Tarso Ciliciæ. The number 20 (xx.) ought perhaps to be 120 (cxx).

† Tetrapyrgia and Crunæ are named together by the geographer of Ravenna.

‡ The only two that have any appearance of reality are 24 M. P. from Taspa to Isaura, and 33 M. P. from Crunæ to Seleuceia.

of the three Itineraries, inserting the names of the principal places at their proportional distances, and correcting occasionally their orthography from better authorities, it remains only for me, in reference to the central region immediately under consideration, to offer some remarks upon a few of the chief points on which the Itineraries are assisted by other authorities. It is hoped that by these several means the future traveller will be furnished with an approximation that may assist him in ascertaining the real sites.

The most important places in the northern part of the country under consideration were (after Ancyra), Juliopolis, Pessinus, and Amorium.

1. Juliopolis.—We learn from Strabo that this city stood on the Sangarius, on the site of the ancient Gordium*, and that it received its name from Cleon, a native, who after having exercised the profession of robber with great success in Mount Olympus, Phrygia Epictetus, and the adjacent districts, had the good fortune to make himself useful, first to Marcus Antonius and afterwards to Julius Cæsar: for these services he was acknow-

* Πλησίον δὲ καὶ ὁ Σαγγάριος ποταμὸς ποιεῖται τὴν ῥύσιν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν οἰκητήρια Μίδου καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Γορδίου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὐδ' ἴχνη σώζονται πόλεων ἀλλὰ κῶμαι μικρῷ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων· οἷόν ἐστι τὸ Γόρδιον . . . .
Strabo, p. 568.

Τὸ δὲ Γόρδιον ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ. Arrian, lib. 1. c. 29.

ledged by the Romans as an independent prince, and was honoured with the priesthood of Comana in Pontus, and of Jupiter Abrettenus in Mysia: in gratitude to Cæsar, he gave the name of Juliopolis to his native town, which had greatly declined from its former importance until he made it his capital*.

It appears from an existing coin of Juliopolis † that it was situated at the confluence of the Sangarius and Scopas, and from Procopius that it stood about ten miles to the west of the Siberis ‡. The latter seems to have been the same stream which Pliny calls Hiera, for he makes no mention of the Siberis, but names the Hiera next to the Scopius §; and the Jerusalem Itinerary places the river Hierus at 13 M. P. to the eastward of Juliopolis ||. The respective distances of Juliopolis from Nicæa and from Ancyra in the Antonine Itinerary fall precisely at the point, where the stream named Aladan by Paul Lucas unites with the Aialá or Sakaría not far

* Strabo, p. 574.

† Eckhel. Doct. Num. vet. Bithynia.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ἐν Γαλάταις, ὅνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Σίβεριν, τῶν μὲν καλουμένων Συκέων ἄγγιστα, πόλεως δὲ Ἰουλιοπόλεως ἀπὸ σημείων μάλιστα δέκα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον. Procop. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 4.

§ De cætero intus in Bithynia colonia Apamena, Agrippenses, Juliopolitæ, Bithynion; flumina, Syrius, Lapsias, Pharmicas, Alces, Crynis, Lilæus, Scopius, Hiera, qui Bithyniam et Galatiam disterminat. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 32.

|| Civitas Juliopolis 13 M. P. Mutatio Hieron potamon 11 M. P. Agannia (Laganeus) Itin. Hierosol. p. 574. Wessel.

to the westward of Sarilár. The character, also, of being subject to inundation, which Procopius shows to have been that of the Siberis *, agrees with a remark of Lucas in regard to the Kirmir, which he crossed between Beybazar and Aiás, and which falls into the Sakaría about ten miles to the eastward of the junction of the Aladan. From all these considerations it appears that the Aladan is the Scopas, and the Kirmir the Siberis or Hierus; and that some vestiges of Juliopolis would probably be found at or near Sarilár at the junction of the Scopas or Aladan with the Sangarius. Pliny remarks that the Hierus was the boundary of Bithynia and Galatia, thus agreeing with Ptolemy †, who places Juliopolis the last town in Bithynia, after Dablæ and Dadastana. At a later period, however, Dadastana, where the Emperor Jovian died, was considered the frontier town ‡.

That Juliopolis stood exactly at the junction of the two rivers Sangarius and Scopas, may be inferred as well from the coin as from Procopius, who informs us that Justinian erected a dyke to defend the walls of Juliopolis from the ravages of a river flowing on the western side of the city ‖:

* Justinian built a bridge and dyke to preserve the high road from the ravages of the Siberis. Procop. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 4.

† Plin. ubi supr. Ptolem. l 5. c. 1.

‡ Ammian. l. 25. sub fin. Socrat. l. 3. sub fin. Sozomen, l. 6. c. 6. Theodoret l. 4. c. 5.

‖ Procop. De Ædif. l. 5. c. 4.

a remark which shows also, that the city was on the eastern side of the junction.

The advantages which twice made this site the capital of the surrounding country were not entirely those of its position, at the confluence of two perennial streams in the centre of the fertile valley of the Sangarius, near the southern foot of the Olympene range, and at a favourable point for commanding the open country to the southward, though all these must have had a powerful influence on its prosperity. They were in part derived from its situation relatively to the sea-coasts of Asia Minor; its central position, and the facility of its communication as well with the Euxine and Ægæan as with the Pamphylian sea, having made it one of the most frequented commercial marts in the peninsula*.

* Postero die ad Gordium pervenit. Id haud magnum quidem oppidum est, sed plus quam mediterraneum celebre et frequens emporium: tria maria pari ferme distantia intervallo habet, Hellespontum, ad Sinopen, et alterius oræ litora, qua Cilices maritimi colunt: multarum magnarumque præterea gentium fines contingit, quarum commercium in eum maxime locum mutui usus contraxere. Liv. l. 38. c. 18.

Phrygia tunc habebat quondam nobilem Midæ regiam; Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis interfluit pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 1.

These observations of Livy and Curtius may be taken as examples of the extreme negligence and inaccuracy often shown by the Latin authors in matters of fact relating to foreign countries. It could hardly have been unknown at Rome in their time, that Gordium was not half so distant from the Propontis or Euxine as from the Ægæan or Cilician sea.

2. Pessinus.—It unfortunately happens, that the only two ancient places in this country, the positions of which are deduced from the superior though not always infallible evidence, of a preservation of the ancient name, Orcistus and Germa, afford us very little assistance in a determination of the neighbouring sites. Orcistus does not occur in the itineraries or in the march of Manlius; its position at Alekiam serves, therefore, only to show where those roads did *not* pass. As to Germa, its position at Yerma is in total disagreement with the itinerary of Antoninus, according to which, Germa was 16 M. P. on the road from Pessinus to Ancyra *; whereas Pessinus being by the consent of Polybius, Livy, and Strabo on the Sangarius †, and Yerma being about 15

* Iter a Pesinunte Ancyram	-	99 M. P.
Sic Germa	- -	16
Vindia	- -	24
Papira	- -	32
Ancyra	- -	27
Iter a Dorylao Ancyra	- -	141 M. P.
Sic Arcelaio	-	30
Germa	- -	20
Vindia	- -	32
Papira	- -	32
Ancyra	- -	27

The 32 to Vindia is an error for 24, as appears by the numbers in the former list agreeing with the total: 32 seems by a mistake of the copier to have been written twice.

† Polyb. l. 22. c. 20. Liv. l. 38. c. 18. Strabo, p. 567. Hero-

miles to the S. W. of that river, Pessinus should rather have been on the road from Germa to Ancyra, if Germa was at Yerma. We are under the necessity, therefore, either of doubting the identity of Yerma, or of rejecting the evidence of the Antonine as to the site of Pessinus. I am the more inclined to adopt the latter part of the alternative, because that itinerary is liable to great suspicion in this place, from its total disagreement with the Peutinger Table in its distance from Dorylæum to Germa, while the Table on the other hand is confirmed by the actual construction. The Table gives 77 M. P. from Dorylæum to Pessinus *,

dian (in the Life of Commodus) says that Pessinus was on the Gallus: but we know from Strabo that the Gallus was that branch of the Sakaría which waters the valley of Léfke. The mistake of Herodian is easily accounted for:—The Gallus being a very important branch of the Sangarius, the united stream was often known by the former name; as we observe in Ammianus,—who in coupling the Gallus with the lake Sophon, which we know from some passages in the Byzantine history to have been the lake of Sabanja,—evidently means by the Gallus the lower part of the Sangarius. In process of time the name Gallus became applied to the whole course of the Sangarius as far as its sources. The same thing happened to the Scamander at Troy, the name of which between the time of Homer and that of Antiochus the Great had become attached not only to the part below the junction of the two rivers, but to that also above it, as far even as the sources of the Homeric Simoeis.

* Dorileo 28 Mideo 28 Tricomia 21 Pessinunte. Tab. Peutinger, seg. 6.

which agrees very accurately with the 56 G. M. of direct distance on the map; whereas the Antonine has only 50 M. P. from Dorylæum to Germa, although according to that itinerary Germa ought to be still further than Pessinus from Dorylæum. It is probable, therefore, that there is some error in this part of the Antonine itinerary, and that the Roman remains which Mr. Kinneir observed at Yerma are really those of the Roman colony of Germa.

Pessinus was situated on the Sangarius, at the foot of mount Dindymum*. It appears from Livy † to have been on the right bank of the river; for he states that Manlius coming from the southward, after having constructed a bridge and crossed the river, was met by the priests of Pessinus as he marched along the bank; and that having accepted the omen of their predictions in favour of the Romans, he halted for the day in the same place where he met them, which appears to have been very near to Pessinus. As he arrived on the next day at Gordium, which we have already seen was only ten or thirteen miles from the river Hierus; and as his march in direct distance could hardly have been more than 14 G. M. —it is evident that Pessinus was not very far above the junction of the Hierus with the Sangarius. It is not improbable that it may have stood exactly at the junction of these two streams, and that the

* Strabo, p. 567. † Liv. l. 38 c. 18.

Hierus may have received that name as partaking of the sacred character of Pessinus.

This position of Pessinus, it may be observed, is in exact agreement with the account which Ammianus gives of the march of Julian from Nicæa; who, after having followed the great road of the Itineraries as far as the confines of Gallogræcia (near Gordium), turned to the right to Pessinus *. The traveller, therefore, who after discovering the site of Gordium should turn out of the great road to A'ngura about Sarilár, and follow the right bank of the Sangarius, could hardly fail in finding some indications of the site of a place which is described by Strabo † as a great mart of commerce, and which flourished as a metropolitan bishopric until the Mussulman conquest ‡. It is not impossible that he might discover some remains of the very ancient and celebrated temple dedicated to Angistis, the Great Goddess, or Phrygian Cybele, which had been sumptuously adorned with porticos of white marble by the Pergamenian kings, and which was the object of the visit of the apostate emperor.

The only evidence of ancient history militating against the position of Pessinus here supposed, is the assertion of Strabo that the sources of the Sangarius were only 150 stades distant from Pessinus,

* Ammian. l. 22. c. 9. † Strabo, p. 567.

‡ Notit. Episc. Græc.

for this short interval does not very well agree with the description of the Sakaría given by Pococke and Kinneir, who crossed it considerably above the supposed site of Pessinus*,—a better knowledge of the country will show whether the error is in the numbers of Strabo, or in my conjecture as to the site of Pessinus: or, perhaps, it may be found that the sources of the Sangarius alluded to by Strabo were, in the same manner as those of the Mæander and of several other Grecian rivers, not the natural or most distant springs of the river; although, from something remarkable in them, they may have been the reputed sources.

3. Amorium chiefly flourished under the Byzantine empire. It was the metropolitan see of the Second Galatia, and was taken and cruelly plundered by the Caliph Motasem, in the year of the Christian æra 837†. Under the Saracens it rose to be the chief town of all the surrounding country; and continued to be so in the eleventh century, when Idrisi wrote his geographical work‡. The Turkish conquest, however, effected so complete a change in the political arrangement and geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor, that we find no trace of the name of Amorium in the Turk-

* Pococke, however, observes, that the river was "small" where he crossed it, "being near the sources."

† Zonar. Ann. l. 15. c. 29.

‡ Geogr. Nubiens. (Clim. 5. pars 5.)

ish Geographers; and future travellers will perhaps find the best evidence of its site in its Saracenic vestiges, combined with such slender data as the Greek authors have left us. Strabo, and Stephanus who follows him, place Amorium in Great Phrygia; and Strabo clearly describes it* as being in the country which lay southward of Cotyaeium, Dorylæum, and Pessinus; westward of Lycaonia, and in the parts near Phrygia Paroreius and Synnada. And this situation of Amorium serves to explain, and at the same time receives confirmation from, a part of the Peutinger Table which is rather obscure. We find in this Table a road from Pessinus to Amorium by Abrostola, and from thence to Laodiceia Combusta; it then returns from Amorium to Abrostola, and from the latter is carried to join the great route from Ancyra to Tyana, at Salaberina (the Salambria of Ptolemy) 20 M. P. beyond Archelais. Hence it seems evident, upon placing these routes upon the map, that Amorium must have been to the southward of Abrostola; a situation which agrees very well with that described in the words of Strabo.

* Τῆς δ' Ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας Ἀζανοί τε εἰσι καὶ Νακόλεια καὶ Κοτιάειον, καὶ Μιδάειον καὶ Δορύλαιον πολεις * * * Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Ἐπικτήτου πρὸς νότον ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη Φρυγία λείπουσα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Πεσσινοῦντα καὶ τὰ περὶ Ὀρκαορυκοὺς καὶ Λυκαονίαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Μαίονας καὶ Λύδους καὶ Κᾶρας· ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν ἥτε Παρωρειος λεγομένη Φρυγία καὶ ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἀμόριον καὶ Εὐμένειαν καὶ Σύνναδα. Strabo, p. 576.

The princess Anna Comnena * relates that her father Alexius, in his expedition against the Turks in the year 1116, after moving from Dorylæum, sent forward detachments of his army from a place called Santabaris, towards Polybotum in one direction, and in another towards Pœmanene and Amorium. This seems to place Santabaris at or near Seid-el-Ghazi, and Pœmanene between that place and Amorium.

Orcaoryci, which the passage of Strabo cited in the preceding note tends to place to the northward of Lycaonia, towards Pessinus, is shown by the geographer's description of Galatia to have been between that city and the lake Tatta, on the confines of the Tectosages †. A third mention of Orcaoryci by the same author, seems to imply that it was not to the northward of Tatta ‡. Not far from these places was a town called Pitnisus, or Pitnissa §, or Petenessus ||. Ptolemy, who considers this country a part of Lycaonia, names Petenessus

* Anna Comn. l. 15. p. 470.

† Τεκτόσαγες δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πεσσινοῦντα καὶ Ὀρκαορυκούς. Strabo, p. 567.

‡ Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν πρὸς νότον ἥτε λίμνη ἐστὶν ἡ Τάττα, παρακειμένη τῇ μεγάλῃ Καππαδοκίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τοὺς Μοριμηνούς, μέρος δ' οὖσα τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας· καὶ ἡ συνεχὴς ταύτῃ μέχρι τοῦ Ταύρου, ἧς τὴν πλείστην Ἀμύντας εἶχεν . . . . . Ἥτε δὴ Τάττα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ Ὀρκαορυκοὺς καὶ Πιτνισὸν καὶ τὰ τῶν Λυκαόνων ὀροπέδια ψυχρὰ καὶ ψιλὰ, &c. Strabo, p. 568.

§ Stephan. in Πίτνισσα. || Ptolem. l. 5. c. 4.

next to Daumana, or Ecdamua, or Ecdaumana—the same, undoubtedly, as the Egdaua of the Table, which places it at 71 M. P. from Abrostola, on the road to Tyana. This position, therefore, of Petenessus, and consequently of the neighbouring Orcaoryci, agrees perfectly with that which is deducible from the observations of Strabo. Orcaoryci and the neighbouring places formed a part of the *axylous* country described by Livy, through which the consul Manlius marched his army in proceeding from Synnada to cross the Sangarius near Pessinus *. I am unable to trace his route, because none of the names of the intermediate places mentioned by him are found in any other author. In any such attempt it will be necessary to recollect that the boundaries of the Asiatic provinces followed by Strabo, were not established until long after the time of Manlius, by Augustus and Tiberius,—that the Gauls had not long before conquered the greater part of Asia Minor, and that the Consul's expedition was for the purpose of reducing them. Hence we find that he arrived at the limits of the Tolistobogii only in three days' march from Beudos; he then moved, in four days, to Alyatti; from thence crossed the *Axylus* to Cuballum, where he was attacked by the Galatian cavalry; and from thence, in several days' continued march

* Liv. l. 38. c. 15 et seq.

(continentibus itineribus), he arrived at the Sangarius. It is evident that the Consul was not marching in any regular line during these days, but was overrunning the country of the Tolistobogii, while waiting for an answer from the king of the Tectosages: it seems not at all improbable, therefore, that he may have advanced as far southward as the Caballucome placed in the Table at 23 M.P. from Laodiceia, and at 32 from Sabatra; and consequently, that the Caballucome of the Table may be the same as the Cuballum of Livy.

There can be little doubt that the Tolosocorio marked in the Table at 24 miles from Abrostola, in the road to Tyana, and which by Ptolemy is written Τολαστόχωρα, ought to be Tolistochora, "the town of the Tolistobogii"; who being the southern and western division of the Galatians, must have precisely occupied the part of the country in which the direction and distances of the route in the Table place Tolistochora *. It has already been remarked, that the Egdaua of this road in the Table is the Ecdaumana of Ptolemy; in like manner Congusso may be corrected from him into Con-

* The *chief* town of the Tolistobogii, however, in the time of Strabo, was not Tolistochora, but Pessinus. Ancyra, according to the arrangement of Augustus, was the chief town of the Tectosages, who occupied the central part of Galatia, and Tavium was that of Trocmi, who possessed the eastern part of the province. Strabo, p. 567.

gustus; Petra into Perta, which writing is confirmed by the Notitiæ Episcopatuum *; and Salaberina into Salambria, at which place the road fell into that from Archelais to Tyana.

* A bishop of Perta sat in the Second Nicene Council, A.D. 787.

Additional note to page 51.

The existence of a large district in the interior of Asia Minor, in which the waters do not flow to the sea, and that much larger tract on the frontier of Persia, and Caubul, which is watered by the Elmend, (Etymander) terminating in a lake subject to periodical inundations, seem sufficient without other examples to render it probable that a great part of the still larger continent of North Africa may have a physical construction of the same kind, and that its interior may be a system of oases, formed by rivers ending in lakes which vary in size according to the season of the year. The mode in which Nature fertilizes low lands in countries so situated as to climate that rain seldom falls, except in the mountains or their vicinity, is exemplified in Egypt; and it is obvious that the same end may be produced, whether the inundating river has a delta and a communication with the sea, or whether it terminates in a lake which overflows large plains around its banks after the season of rain in the high lands. In some instances, as in the small district of Taka, which is situated in the midst of the Desert, between the Astaboras and the Red Sea, the inundation which descends from the mountains of Abyssinia previous to the season of vegetation, is afterwards totally dried up. (Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 387.) But it more frequently happens that the recipient preserves a part of its water all the year; and this seems to be the condition of the lakes of Fitré and Bornou. From the southern slopes of the African mountains bordering on

the Mediterranean Sea, several considerable rivers run southward into the great Desert, which cannot terminate otherwise than in fertilized sands, or lakes, or inundations. The lake Dibbie, or Tybe, which was crossed by Alexander Scott in the course of his captivity, we know from Park to be an inundation derived from the Niger. It is not impossible that the lake of Bornou may originate, in part at least, from the same stream; for as Nature generally economizes her means, it is evident that in the case of an interior river the greatest effect will be produced by the spreading of its waters as its course advances, instead of their being collected into one bed, as occurs in rivers which flow into the sea. In proportion, therefore, as the information of travellers may show the impossibility of a junction of the Niger with the Nile (and Browne and English seem to have furnished the strongest evidence to this effect), it will become more probable that the Niger, by branching and by expanding into lakes and inundations, is the great fertilizing cause throughout the low countries of North Africa which lie just without the reach of the tropical rains. Thus spread out and exposed to the rapid evaporation of an African sun, the Niger may be as large, or perhaps even larger where Park saw it at Sego, than in any subsequent part of its course. In several rivers of Spain, Italy, and particularly of Greece, artificial derivations alone have caused a similar effect; so that the quantity of water in the bed of the river diminishes instead of increases from the foot of the mountains to the sea. Even the Nile carries very little of its water to the sea, except during the inundation; and in ancient times when the Mæris and other smaller lakes were annually filled to a great extent, and when three or four times as much land was watered by the overflowing of the river as in the present day, the quantity of water discharged by the mouths of the Nile must have been still smaller than it is at present.

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNEY FROM KÓNIA.

Tshumra—Kassabá—Karamán or Láranda—Ancient Cities of this Part of the Country—Laranda, Derbe, Lystra, Ilistra.—Passage over Mount Taurus into the Valley of the Calycadnus—Mout.—Passage of another Ridge of Taurus—Sheikh-Amúr—Approach to the Sea-coast—Gulnar or Kelénderi, ancient Colenderis—Ancient Cities of the Interior of Tracheiotis—Olbasa Claudiopolis—Philadelphia—Diocæsareia.—Passage by Sea to Cyprus—Tzerína—Lefkosía—Lárnaka—Return to Tzerína—Passage by Sea to Kháradra—Cape Selenti—Aláya.—Author's Route by Sea along the Coast to Constantinople.—Journal of General Koehler from Aláya to Shughut—Alara—Menovgát—Stavros—Adália—Bidjikli—Tshaltigshe—Búrdur—Ketsiburlu—Dombai—Sandakli—Sitshanli—Altún Tash—Kutáya—Inóghi—Shughut.—Conclusion of the Tour.

Feb. 1.—Our journey of this day is from Kónia to Tshumra, reckoned a six hours' stage. We have remarked that since leaving Ak-shehr the post-horses are of an inferior kind. They are larger and not well formed, often broken-knee'd, and frequently falling, which seldom happened in the first part of our journey. Those supplied from Kónia for this day's journey are very indifferent, and we did not get them till ten o'clock, nor till after we had paid some high fees to the post-master and Tatár-aga. The plain of Kónia is considered the largest in Asia Minor; our road pursues a perfect level for upwards of twenty miles, and is in excel-

lent order for travelling. In such roads the journey, even with loaded horses, may be performed in two-thirds of the computed time. A rough kind of two-wheeled carriage, drawn by oxen or buffaloes, is used in this plain. It runs upon trucks, ingeniously formed of six pieces of solid wood, three in the centre, and three on the outside, the outer joints falling opposite to the centre of the inner pieces; the whole is kept together by an iron felloe, and by fastenings connecting the outer pieces with the inner.

Tshumra is a small village with a scanty cultivation around it. We are lodged in a Turk's cottage, which consists of two apartments. The inner (which is considerably the larger of the two) is for his horse; the other is separated from the passage leading into the stable by two or three steps and a low rail, and is just sufficient to contain the fireplace, and a sofa on either side of it. This is the whole of his habitation, and here we are just able to find room enough to lie down at night.

Feb. 2.—From Tshumra to Kassabá, nine hours over the same uninterrupted level of the finest soil, but quite uncultivated, except in the immediate neighbourhood of a few widely dispersed villages. It is painful to behold such desolation in the midst of a region so highly favoured by nature. Another characteristic of these Asiatic plains is the exactness of the level, and the peculiarity of their extend-

ing, without any previous slope, to the foot of the mountains, which rise from them, like lofty islands out of the surface of the ocean. The Karamanian ridge seems to recede as we approach it, and the snowy summits of Argæus are still seen to the north-eastward. We passed only one small village in this day's route. It was called Alibey Kiúi, and was situated at one hour's distance short of Kassabá. We observed, however, some ruins of villages, and in several places fragments of ancient architecture, particularly about half way, at a bridge constructed almost entirely of such remains, which traverses a small stream running from the mountain on our right to the lake of Kónia. At three or four miles short of Kassabá, we are abreast of the middle of the very lofty insulated mountain already mentioned, called Kara-dagh. It is said to be chiefly inhabited by Greek Christians, and to contain 1001 churches; but we afterwards learned that these 1001 churches (Bin-bir Klissa) was a name given to the extensive ruins of an ancient city at the foot of the mountain. Since leaving Kónia we have experienced more civility from the inhabitants than before; a change to be ascribed to our being now upon a less frequented route. On approaching Kassabá, the people met us in great numbers. One person threw a pair of pigeons, with the legs tied together, under the feet of the general's horse; others wrestled and danced. On arriving at our

lodging they brought us presents of water-melons, dried grapes, and other fruits. Kassabá differs from every town we have passed through, in being built of stone instead of sun-baked bricks. It is surrounded with a wall flanked by redans, or angular projections, and has some handsome gates of Saracenic architecture. It has a well supplied bazar, and seems formerly to have been a Turkish town of more importance than it is at present. The dry clear weather which has been so propitious to our travelling, has been very unfavourable to agriculture. At Kassabá we are informed that there has been neither snow nor rain for two months, and that the drought is very distressing. Khatun-serái is four hours to the westward of Kassabá, in a pleasant situation in the mountains.

Feb. 3.—From Kassabá to Karamán, four hours: the weather cool and overcast; the road still passing over a plain, which towards the mountains begins to be a little intersected with low ridges and ravines. At one hour from Kassabá we pass on the outside of Illísera, a small town with low walls and towers, built of mud bricks, and situated upon a rising ground half a mile from the foot of the mountains. Between these mountains and the Kara-dagh there is a kind of strait, which forms the communication between the plain of Karamán and the great levels lying eastward of Kónia. Having passed this opening, we enter the

plain of Karamán. Our course from Kónia has been more southerly than it was before we reached that town, or upon an average S. by E. by compass. We are told that the mountains above Illísera produce madder in great abundance, partly used in the dyeing manufactories of Kónia, and partly sent to Smyrna. The plain of Karamán and the foot of the surrounding mountains are in general well cultivated; and as they present a more bounded prospect, and are intersected with frequent streams, and varied with swelling grounds, they are much more pleasing and picturesque than the immense unbroken levels we have for so many days been travelling over.

Advancing towards Karamán I perceive a passage into the plains to the N.W. round the northern end of Kara-dagh, similar to that of Illísera on the south, so that this mountain is completely insulated. We still see to the north-east the great snowy summits of Argæus, which is probably the highest point of Asia Minor*. As we approached the town of Karamán two horsemen met us, and conducted us to our Konák, at the house of the Vekíl of the

* By the description of Mr. Kinneir it appears that Argæus is not less than 8 or 9000 feet above the sea; for it was covered with snow to a great distance below the summit in October: Strabo's expression, therefore, of ὄρος πάντων ὑψηλότατος may, perhaps, apply to it with truth, if we confine his observation to the countries between the Caucasus and the Alps.

Bishop of Iconium, who is at the head of the Christian community of the place. Karamán is situated at a distance of two miles from the foot of the mountains. Its ancient Greek name, Láranda, with the accent on the first syllable, is still in common use among the Christians, and is even retained in the firmahns of the Porte. The houses, in number about a thousand, are separated from one another by gardens, and occupy a large space of ground. There are now only three or four mosques, but I observed the ruins of several others; and the remains of a castle show that the place was formerly of much greater importance. It was the capital of a Turkish kingdom, which lasted from the time of the partition of the dominions of the Seljukian monarchs of Iconium until 1486, when all Caramania was reduced to subjection by the Ottoman emperor Bayazíd the Second. Karamán derives its name from the first and greatest of its princes, who on the death of Sultan Aladin the Second, about the year 1300, made himself master of Iconium, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and of a large portion of Phrygia and Cappadocia. His name, like those of some other Turkish chieftains*, who at the same time shared among them a great part of the western provinces of the peninsula, has been transmitted to poste-

* Karasi, Sarukhan, Aidin, Kermian. (See Niceph. Greg. l. 7. c. 1. Chalcocond. l. 1. p. 7.

rity in one of the great Turkish divisions of Asia Minor. The Ottomans upon obtaining possession of Karamán subdivided it into Kharidj the outer and Itshili the interior country: probably because to them who came from the north-east Itshili, which comprises the Cilician coast and Cyprus, lay behind or within the mountains; Iconium the former Seljukian capital became the seat of the Ottoman Pashalik; and the decline of the town of Karamán may be dated from that period.

The appearance of Karamán indicates poverty. The only manufactures are some coarse cotton and woollen stuffs; but they send the produce of the surrounding mountains, consisting chiefly of hides, wool, and acorns used in dyeing, to the neighbouring coasts and to Smyrna. The houses are built of sun-baked bricks, with flat roofs. The chimneys being very wide, and much exposed to violent winds from the surrounding mountains, have a trap-door on the top, which may be raised or lowered at pleasure, by means of a cord, communicating through the roof into the house. The women of Karamán when passing through the streets conceal their faces with unusual care. In the other parts of Asia Minor a veil covering the upper and lower parts of the face has been the utmost we have remarked, but here I see several women with only a single eye exposed to the view of passengers. The

rest of the person is in the usual shapeless form of Turkish drapery.

We could not find any Greek remains at Karamán, with the sole exception of a stone in a wall near the entrance of the castle with the words ΙΩΑΝΝΗϹ ΔΟΜΕϹΤΙΚΟϹ upon it.

The chief ancient towns near Laranda were Derbe and Lystra, whose names have been immortalized by the sacred writer of the Acts of the Apostles *. —About the middle of the century preceding the birth of Christ, Derbe was the residence of an independent chief, or robber, as Strabo calls him †, named Antipatrus, who possessed also Laranda. Antipatrus having been slain by Amyntas king of Galatia, Derbe fell into the power of the latter; who had already received Isauria from the Romans, upon its reduction by Servilius. Amyntas conquered all Pisidia, as far as Apollonias, near Apameia Cibotus; but having fallen in fighting with the Homonadenses, his dominions devolved to the Romans; who having not long afterwards succeeded also to those of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, made a new distribution of these provinces, in which Derbe, as we have already seen, was the western extremity of the Cilician præfecture of

* Act. Apost. c. 14.

† Cicero speaks of him with more respect: "Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium, verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit."—Ep. ad Div. l. 13. ep. 73.

Cappadocia. Strabo, from whom we learn most of the preceding facts *, observes in another place, that Derbe was on the Isaurian frontier of Cappadocia †. But it must also have been on the frontier of Lycaonia; for about the same time St. Luke calls both Derbe and Lystra cities of Lycaonia. About a century afterwards, we find that Derbe had been separated from the Cilician præfecture of Cappadocia, and that it formed,—together with Laranda and the adjacent part of Mount Taurus, which contained Olbasa,—a separate district called Antiochiana; which Ptolemy places between Lycaonia and the Tyanitis ‡. From all these circumstances, there seems no doubt that Derbe stood in the great Lycaonian plain, not far from the Cilician Taurus, on the Cappadocian side of Láranda; a situation precisely agreeing with that of the ruins called the 1001 churches of Mount Kara-dagh. These ruins have never been visited, or at least described, by any modern traveller; nor has the route from Láranda to Erkle, near which they stand, been traversed by any except Bertrandon de la Brocquière, in 1432, from whom we learn nothing more than that he travelled for two days in a plain from Erkle

* Strabo, p. 534. 567.

† Τῆς δὲ Ἰσαυρικῆς ἐστιν ἐν πλευραῖς, ἡ Δέρβη, μάλιστα ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐπιπεφυκὸς, τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τυραννεῖον τοῦ Δερβήτου· τούτου δ' ἦν καὶ τὰ Λάρανδα. Strabo, p. 569.

‡ Ptolem. l. 5. c. 6.

to Láranda. It is impossible, therefore, to say, whether there is any lake near these ruins, which will support the conjecture that the word λιμὴν, used by Stephanus * in speaking of Derbe, may be altered into λίμνη; for without this change the word can have no meaning.

Lystra appears to have been nearer than Derbe to Iconium; for St. Paul, leaving that city, proceeds first to Lystra, and from thence to Derbe; and in like manner returns to Lystra, to Iconium, and to Antiocheia of Pisidia. And this seems to agree with the arrangement of Ptolemy, who places Lystra in Isauria, and near Isaura, which seems evidently to have occupied some part of the valley of Sidy Shehr, or Bey Shehr. Under the Greek empire, Homonade, Isaura, and Lystra, as well as Derbe and Laranda, were all included in the consular province of Lycaonia, and were bishoprics of the metropolitan see of Iconium. The similarity of name induced me at first to believe that Lystra was situated at the modern Illísera; but we find, as well in the civil arrangement of the cities in Hierocles as in two ecclesiastical lists in the Notitiæ Episcopatuum, that Lystra and Ilistra were distinct places. I am inclined to think that the vestiges of Lystra may be sought for with the greatest probability of success at or near Wiran Khatoun or Khatoun Serai, about 30 miles to the southward

* Stephan. in Δέρβη

of Iconium. Nothing can more strongly show the little progress that has hitherto been made in a knowledge of the ancient geography of Asia Minor, than that of the cities, which the journey of St. Paul has made so interesting to us, the site of one only (Iconium) is yet certainly known. Perga, Antioch of Pisidia, Lystra, and Derbe, remain to be discovered.

Feb. 4.—Such is the poverty of Karamán, that we cannot procure the number of horses necessary for our party, and are obliged to perform the remainder of the journey to the coast, reckoned at thirty-six hours, with camels, instead of horses, for carrying our baggage, although the intervening track, being almost entirely mountainous, is the kind of country the least adapted to that animal. It requires all this day to procure a sufficiency of camels and horses; and we are under the necessity of deferring our departure.

Feb. 5.—The arrival of Captain Lacy from Constantinople produces a further delay this morning, an addition to our cattle being necessary. It was eleven o'clock before we set out from Karamán, though we rose at two, and were ready to start at four. At the distance of two or three miles from the town we began to ascend, and entered the mountainous region which extends all the way to the coast, and which anciently formed part of the division of Cilicia called Tracheiotis, or Cilicia

Tracheia. Our caravan now consists, besides saddle-horses, of thirteen camels, one of which is laden with provisions for the rest. On account of the difficulty of the road, their burthen is light; they carry no more than the usual load of a horse, yet with this easy weight they do not move quicker than two miles and a half in the hour. They step a yard at a time, and make about seventy-five steps in a minute. The post-horses laden with baggage in the former part of the route, moved at the rate of three miles and a half an hour in the plains. Entering the hills, we see rocks excavated into a great number of chambers, anciently sepulchral, but now inhabited by peasants and shepherds. As we leave the plains the climate changes. At four hours from Karamán, in the lower region of the mountains, we pass a village where the snow beginning to fall heavily, and there being no habitation beyond for the next fifteen hours, our guides and attendants are much inclined to remain for the night; but our delay at Karamán makes us impatient to proceed, and we advance four hours further to a khan in the wildest part of the mountain. During the ascent, the road presented some magnificent views of mountain-scenery. On the left was a very lofty peaked summit, one of the highest of the range of Taurus, probably between 6 and 7000 feet above the level of the sea. In the lower regions of the mountain, we passed through woods

consisting chiefly of oak, ilex, arbutus, lentisk, and junipers of various species. As we ascend, we enter the region of pines; and through the latter part of the route do not see a living creature; though we are told that the woods abound with deer, wild boars, bears, and wolves. The khan where we take up our lodging for the night is deserted, and partly in ruins. As we resolve not to unload the camels, they are seated on the outside of the khan in a ring round the door. We break some branches from the fir-trees, now heavily covered with snow, which grow near the khan, then select a part of the building where the roof is still entire, and make a fire on one of the hearths which are ranged in a line along the inside of the wall. Here we cook some meat which we had brought with us, and then sleep round the fire till midnight; soon after which we send off our camels in advance, and at six o'clock (Feb. 6.) pursue our journey to Mout, distant eleven hours.—The weather is again fine. The road lies over the highest ridges of the mountains, where, amidst the forests of pines, are several beautiful valleys and small plains, forming with the surrounding rocks and woods the most beautiful scenery. In several places we trace the footsteps of the wild animals, and observe spots where wild boars have been rooting up the earth. The soil is fertile in the intervals of the woods, and the climate cannot be very severe during the greater part of the year, there be-

ing no permanent snow, now in the middle of winter, upon any but the highest summits. There appears, however, no trace of cultivation, though there is ample proof that these mountains were anciently well inhabited; for we meet with scarcely a rock remarkable for its form or position, that is not pierced with ancient catacombs. Many of these rocks present at a small distance the exact appearance of towers and castles. At a khan half way between our last night's konák and Mout, we begin to descend into the valley where this town is situated. The khan seems to stand upon the site of an ancient temple, or other public building, there being many fragments of ancient architecture in its walls, and lying around it, and among the latter a handsome Corinthian capital. Not far beyond the khan we stop to examine a tall rock, which, partly by its natural form, and partly by the effect of art, represents a high tower. At the foot of it is a niche with a semicircular top, the lower part forming a coffin, cut out of the solid rock; the lid of this sarcophagus, which is a separate stone, lies at the foot of the rock; upon it is the figure of a lion seated in the middle, with a boy at either end; the boy facing the lion has his foot upon the paw of the animal. The sculpture is much defaced, and the heads have been purposely destroyed. We find also many entire sarcophagi, with their covers. They had all been opened; in some instances

by throwing off the covers, in others by forcing a hole through the sides. The usual ornament is the *caput bovis* with festoons, but some have on one side a defaced inscription on a tablet; on either side of this are ornaments varying on different sarcophagi. We observe on some, a garland on one side of the tablet, and a crescent on the other; some have emblems which seem to refer to the profession of the deceased. These, and all the other monuments of antiquity we have met with, excepting those of Doganlú, are evidently of the time of the Romans. Not far from the spot where we saw these remains is the village of Máhile; not in view from our road; it may, perhaps, have been the site of the ancient town to which the sepulchres belonged. From hence we begin to descend through woods of oak, beech, and other timber-trees, growing amidst an underwood of arbutus, andrachne, ilex, lentisk, and many other of the shrubs cultivated with so much care in our gardens. As we approach the valley, we meet with the wild olive in considerable quantities, and at length, after a very rugged descent, we enter the valley of Mout. The town and its dependent territory are governed by a pasha of two tails: who in this retired and distant situation seems to care little for the orders of the Porte, for he laughs at our firmahn, and declares, what the desolate appearance of the place tends to confirm, that he has not a horse or a camel to furnish us

with; but he offers us forage for our cattle, and lodging for ourselves. The latter is a ruinous hut in the castle, where we can procure nothing but some coarse barley-bread to add to the meat which we brought with us. The walls of the castle are surmounted with battlements, flanked by square towers open to the interior. In the middle is a round tower, cased, as it were, in another circular wall, rising to half the height of the tower, and leaving a narrow interval between them *. On one side of the castle is a precipice, the foot of which is washed by a river.

Mout stands on the site of an ancient city of considerable extent and magnificence. No place we have yet passed preserves so many remains of its former importance, and none exhibits so melancholy a contrast of wretchedness in its actual condition. Among the ruined mosques and baths, which attest its former prosperity as a Turkish town under the Karamanian kings, a few hovels made of reeds and mud are sufficient to shelter its present scanty population. Some of the people we saw living under sheds, and in the caverns of the rocks. Among these Turkish ruins and abodes of misery may be traced the plan of the ancient Greek city. Its chief streets and temples, and other public buildings, may be clearly distinguished, and

* There is a similar keep at Launceston in Cornwall.

long colonnades and porticoes, with the lower parts of the columns in their original places. Pillars of verd-antique, breccia, and other marbles, lie half-buried in different parts, or support the remains of ruined mosques and houses. Most of the inhabitants whom we saw appeared half-naked, and half-starved; and this in a valley which promises the greatest abundance and fertility, and which is certainly capable of supporting a large population. Its scenery is of the greatest beauty: the variegated pastures, groves, and streams are admirably contrasted with the majestic forms and dark forests of the high mountains on either side. Every thing is seen that can be desired to complete the picturesque, unless it be an expanse of water.

Feb. 7.—In leaving Mout this morning, we particularly admire the fine effect of the castle with its round and square towers, the precipices with the river below them, the surrounding trees, and the ancient colonnades; and, among the most remarkable of the modern buildings, an old Turkish mosque, with the tomb of Karamán-Oglu, its founder. On quitting the town, we pass along the ancient road, which led through the cemetery. Sarcophagi stand in long rows on either side; some entire and in their original position, others thrown down and broken; the covers of all removed, and in most instances lying beside them. The greater part were adorned with the usual bull's head and

festoons, and had a Greek inscription in a tablet on one side. The letters were sufficiently preserved to indicate the date to be that of the Roman Empire. We looked in vain for the name of the city; though, perhaps, it might have been found, with more leisure than we could command.

The journey of this day is from Mout to Sheikh Amúr, reckoned 12 hours for walking horses, and 18 for camels; the proportion of their movements being nearly as two to three. We had wished to have sent off our camels in the middle of the night, and to have followed in the morning, that we might all have arrived at our journey's end at the same time, but the Pasha's language and the wildness of the country make us think it more advisable to keep together. Another apprehension of more real magnitude is suggested by our Tatár, that the drivers, having been forced to go beyond their post, would take some opportunity, unless we should send a sufficient force along with them, of cutting off the baggage, leaving it on the road, and perhaps plundering it, and riding away with the horses and camels. We had risen at three in the morning, but could not with every exertion set out from Mout before seven; from which time we continued travelling, without halting, except occasionally for a few minutes, till eleven at night; having during the last two hours preceded the camels, which arrived at a little past twelve. For the first

two or three hours, the road led us along the delightful valley of Mout. A little beyond a small village, around which are some rice-grounds, we forded, by the help of guides belonging to the place, a deep and rapid river, called the Kiúk-su (Sky-blue river). The river of Mout is a branch of this stream, and joins it further down the valley. After passing over a level for a short distance, we crossed another stream rather wider than the former, the water of which runs perfectly clear over a bottom of pebbles. This branch, the principal of those which form the Calycadnus, is called the Ermenék-su, from a town of that name near its sources in the western part of the valley, where, we are informed, considerable remains of antiquity, similar to those of Mout, are to be seen. Others are said to exist also lower down the valley, between Mout and Selefke. The Calycadnus passes the ruins of Seleuceia at Selefke, and joins the sea not far below that place. Soon after crossing the Ermenék we began to ascend, and travelled for the rest of the day along a horse-track amidst the forests and mountains. The oaks are not numerous, and are chiefly confined to the lower regions, where they are intermixed with arbutus, ilex, cornel, juniper, lentisk, &c. In the upper parts scarcely any trees are seen but pines of different species: most of these are of a moderate size, but some which we saw in the highest parts of the mountain were

straight, large, tall, and fit for the masts of ships of war. Great numbers had been destroyed for the sake of the turpentine, by making an incision near the foot of the tree and lighting a fire under it, which has the effect of making the resin run more freely. The summits in the centre of the ridge which we crossed yesterday are higher than any part of this range; but these mountains are more extensive, and of a still wilder and more rugged description. We are told, that in addition to the wild animals found in the ridge to the north of Mout, the forests of these mountains contain tigers, or at least an animal to which the Turkish name of Kaplán is given. The road sometimes passed along the edge of precipices of immense height; at other times it was a rugged path, climbing amidst broken rocks, where there seemed hardly a footing for a mule; and at others it was a descent upon banks and slopes so slippery that it was difficult even on foot to avoid falling. The camels, whose footing is so very ill formed for such roads, passed them nevertheless without any material accident; they had no doubt been often accustomed to carry the merchandize of the people of Karamán across the mountains which separate that town from the coast in every direction; and it may be mentioned as a remarkable instance of the force of habit. We met with a very civil reception from the Aga of Sheikh-Amúr, who presented us with part

of a large wild boar which his men had killed in the woods.

This morning, (Feb. 8.) we are much gratified by the delightful situation of the village perched upon a rocky hill, in a small hollow, surrounded by an amphitheatre of woody mountains. We proceed from Sheikh-Amúr to Gulnar, on the sea-side, a distance of six hours for horses. At a short distance from Sheikh-Amúr we remark several comfortable cottages, surrounded with patches of cultivation, and inclosures of palisades. These detached habitations, so uncommon in Turkey, indicate a degree of security which gives us a favourable opinion of the Caramanian mountaineers, whom indeed we have found very hospitable and inoffensive. The road is through the most beautiful mountain-scenery. A woody valley between high rocks, with a rivulet of clear water trickling through it, conducted us into a district more open and level, but at the same time more singularly wild, than any we had yet seen; for over the whole of it high perpendicular rocks, of the most grotesque and varied forms, stood up among the trees, resembling the representations of rocks on Chinese earthenware. From hence we passed along the dry bed of a torrent, which served as a road, between high calcareous precipices, rising close to us on either side. As we advanced, these rocks were fringed with ivy, saxifrage, &c., and mixed with small groves of

evergreens: at the bottom, a clear stream ran along a natural groove in the rock. The prospect soon opened upon an extensive forest of oaks upon the slope of the mountain, through which we at length arrived at a pass between two summits, from whence we beheld the sea with almost as much delight as the soldiers of Xenophon, from the top of Mount Theches. The island of Cyprus appeared in the horizon. We descended into the valley which borders the coast, by a long and extremely steep and rugged mountain-path, often intersected by rivulets running in ravines, shaded by plane-trees. The valley presented a prospect very different from those we had passed. Its meadows and cultivated fields were in all the luxuriant vegetation and brilliant colours of an advanced spring. Among them were dispersed some cottages, with flat roofs and open galleries, like those of the interior country. In descending the mountain we followed the remains of an ancient aqueduct, and, as we approached the coast, traced it again leading towards the ruins which occupy the cape forming the bay of Celenderis. The road through the valley led along the beds of torrents adorned with oleander and agnus castus, and through groves of myrtle, bay, and other shrubs, produced only in the softer climate of the coast. The ruins, the beautiful curve of the bay, and the distant sea-view on the one side, and on the other the rich valley, contrasted with the

steep mountains and dark woods behind, form a picture, the beauty of which was greatly heightened by the brightness of the weather.

Gulnar is the name applied by the Turks, and Kelénderi by the Greeks, to a harbour and surrounding district, in which, with the exception of the dispersed cottages already mentioned, the only habitations are the tombs and subterraneous vaults of the ancient Celenderis; several of the latter were occupied by poor Turkish families. Our lodging was a brick vault, with a stone pavement, which seemed once to have been a cistern; a low arch divided it into two equal parts. The outer was without a roof, but the inner furnished a dry and comfortable apartment. The remains of Celenderis are of various dates, but none of them, unless it be some sepulchres excavated in the rock, appear to be older than the early periods of the empire of Rome; and there are some even of a late date in that of Constantinople. The town occupied all the space adjacent to the inner part of the bay, together with the whole of the projecting cape. The best preserved remains of antiquity are, a square tower upon the extremity of the cape, and a monument of white marble among the tombs; the latter is formed of four open arches, supported upon pilasters of the Corinthian order, of not very finished workmanship; and the whole is surmounted with a pyramid, the apex of which has fallen. I observed

some handsome tessellated pavements among the ruins, and a great number of sarcophagi, together with fragments of columns and wrought stones.

Celenderis, although it now preserves the remains only of a Roman town, seems in more ancient times to have been the principal place in this part of the country. It gave name to a region called Celenderitis, and coined those silver tetradrachms which supply some of the earliest and finest specimens of the numismatic art. The antiquity of the city is proved by the tradition of its having been founded by Sandocus, son of Phaethon *, and like the neighbouring Nagidus, it received a colony from the island of Samus †. It is situated about the centre of the coast of Cilicia Tracheia.

As this province extended to the boundaries of Tarsus on the east, of Coracesium on the west, and of Laranda on the north ‡, it seems to have corresponded exactly to the Turkish province of Itshili. The most fertile and the only extensive level in Tracheiotis is the valley of the Calycadnus, a district which was sometimes called Citis §. This river, which rises to the north-west, passes by Ermenék, Sinanli, Mout, and Selefke, and joins the sea not far below the last of these modern places. Olbasa being the only city mentioned in the inland

* Apollodorus, l. 3. c 4. † Pomp. Mela, l. 1. c. 13.

‡ Strabo, p. 668.

§ Basil of Seleucia, in the Life of Thecla.

part of Citis by Ptolemy*, and Claudiopolis by Ammianus †, it is not improbable that Olbasa may have changed its name to Claudiopolis, when a Roman colony was established there by the Emperor Claudius, and that its situation may have been at Mout. The extent and description of the remains of antiquity at that place are highly favourable to the supposition of its being the site of a city which flourished under the Roman Empire, at the same time that the vicinity of this part of Taurus to the plains which contain Derbe and Laranda is in agreement with the evidence of Ptolemy‡ as to the position of Olbasa; for he states the district of Antiochiana to have consisted of the townships of Laranda, Derbe, Olbasa, and a fourth town which he calls Musbanda. If the Roman colony at Mout was entirely a new foundation, perhaps it will be found that Olbasa was at Mahile. Philadelphia and Diocæsareia, which were also in this part of the country, may have been the one at Ermenék, and the other at the ruins already mentioned between Mout and Selefke.

Feb. 9.—Nothing can more strongly show the present desolation of these fine countries, than the fact, that as we descended the hills yesterday, towards the coast, only one vessel was visible in the

* Ptolem. l. 5. c. 8.

† Claudiopolis, quam dedux coloniam Claudius Cæsar. Ammian. l. 15. c. 25.

‡ Ptolem. l. 5. c. 6.

vast extent of sea then open to our view. It proved to be the boat which was to carry us across to Cyprus, and in which we embarked this evening, having delayed until that time, in the hope of profiting about midnight by the land-breeze from the mountains, which seldom fails when the weather is fair.

Feb. 10.—The land-breeze carries us half across the channel, and then leaves us to be tossed all day by the swell in a calm.

Feb. 11.—We land this forenoon at Tzerína, called by the Italians Cerina, and by the Turks Ghirne. It is a small town with a Venetian fortification, and a bad port on the northern coast of Cyprus; it is reckoned by the Greek sailors to be eighty miles from Kelénderi, but is probably less than sixty English. The town is situated amidst plantations of oranges, lemons, olives, dates, and other fruit-trees; and all the uncultivated parts of the plains around are covered with bay, myrtle, and lentisk. On the west side of the town are extensive quarries, among which are some catacombs, the only remains of the ancient Ceryneia. The harbour, bad and small as it is, must, upon a coast very deficient in maritime shelter, have always ensured to the position a certain degree of importance. The natural formation of the eastern part of the north side of Cyprus is very singular: it consists of a high rugged ridge of steep rocks, running in a

straight line from east to west, which descend abruptly on the south side into the great plain of Lefkosía, and terminate to the north in a narrow plain bordering the coast. Upon several of the rocky summits of the ridge are castles which seem almost inaccessible. The slope and maritime plain at the foot of the rocks, on the north, possess the finest soil and climate, with a plentiful supply of water; it is one of the most beautiful and best cultivated districts I have seen in Turkey.

Feb. 12.—Finding it impossible to procure horses in time to enable us to reach the gates of Lefkosía before sunset, at which time they are shut, we are under the necessity of remaining at Tzerína to-day. I visit a large ruined monastery, in a delightful situation, not far to the eastward of Tzerína, at no great distance from the sea. It contains the remains of a handsome Gothic chapel and hall, and bears a great resemblance to the ruins of an English abbey*.

Feb. 13.—From Tzerína to Lefkosía, six hours. At the back of Tzerína the road passes through a natural opening in the great wall of rock I have already described, and descends into the extensive plain of Lefkosía. This is in some places rocky and barren, and is little cultivated even where the soil is good. Like most of the plains of Greece,

* It was founded by Hugh Lusignan the Third: for a description of it see the work of Mariti, who visited Cyprus in 1762.

it is marshy in the winter and spring, and unhealthy in the summer. On the west and south are the mountains which occupy all that part of the island, and the slopes of which produce the wines exported in so large a quantity from Cyprus to all the neighbouring coasts. In the centre of the plain is Lefkosía (Λευκοσία), called Nicosia by the Italians, the capital of the island and of the province of Itshili, of which Cyprus is considered a part, though the government is now always administered, like that of the other Greek islands, by a deputy of the Capudán Pasha. The ramparts of the Venetian fortifications of Lefkosía exist in tolerable preservation; but the ditch is filled up, and there is no appearance of there ever having been a covert way. There are thirteen bastions: the ramparts are lofty and solid, with orillons and retired flanks. In the town is a large church converted into a mosque, and still bearing, like the great mosque at Constantinople, the Greek name of St. Sophia: it is said to have been built by Justinian; but this may be doubted, as Procopius, in his work on the edifices of that emperor, makes no mention of it; and its Gothic style seems rather to mark it for the work of one of the Frank kings of Cyprus. The flat roofs, trellised windows, and light balconies of the better order of houses, situated as they are in the midst of gardens of oranges and lemons, give, together with the fortifications, a respectable and picturesque appear-

ance to Lefkosía at a little distance, but, upon entering it, the narrow dirty streets, and miserable habitations of the lower classes, make a very different impression upon the traveller; and the sickly countenances of the inhabitants sufficiently show the unhealthiness of the climate. At Lefkosía we were very hospitably entertained by an Armenian merchant, of the name of Sarkís, who is an English baratli, and under that protection has amassed a considerable property, and lives in splendour: he and his relations seem to occupy all the principal offices of the island held by Christians, such as those of interpreter and banker to the Motselim, or deputy of the Capudán Pasha, of collector of the contributions of the Christians, of head of the Christian community, &c.

Feb. 14.—From Lefkosía to Lárnaka, eight hours. The first half of the distance was a continuation of the same plain as before; the remainder lay over rugged hills of soft limestone, among which we cross some long ridges of selenite. At Lárnaka we found Sir Sidney Smith with his small squadron: he had just signed a treaty for the evacuation of Egypt by the French.

Feb. 15.—We pass the day on board the Tigre, where we find General Junot, afterwards Duke of Abrantes, and Madame Junot and General Dupuy: the latter, next to Kleber, the senior general of the army of Egypt. They were taken by the Theseus,

Captain Styles, in attempting to escape from Alexandria.

The town of Lárnaka stands at the distance of a mile from the shore, and has a quarter on the seaside, called Ἁλικαίς by the Greeks, and Marina by the Italians. In the intermediate space are many foundations of ancient walls, and other remains, among the gardens and inclosures. The stones are removed for building materials as quickly as they are discovered; but the great extent of these vestiges, and the numerous antiquities which at different times have been found here *, seem to leave little doubt that here stood Citium, the most ancient and important city in this part of Cyprus.

March 2.—After having remained several days at Lárnaka and Lefkosía, we arrive to-day at Tzerína, on our return to Constantinople. The purity of the air on the north coast of Cyprus is very sensibly perceived, after leaving the interior plains and the unhealthy situation of Lárnaka. The Turkish troops are already arriving in large bodies, on their way home, in the faith that the war of Egypt is concluded.

We set sail at eight this morning, in a three-masted covered vessel, with latine sails, for Adália. A halo round the moon last night, and a turbid atmosphere this morning, portend a change of

* See Mariti, Drummond, and Pococke.

weather. At two or three miles from the port, the land-wind which carried us out, falls and leaves us becalmed, but a breeze soon springs up from the eastward, and we steer N. by W. Having come in sight of the coast, we soon perceive the point of Anamúr, five or six leagues to leeward of us. As we approach the shore, the wind coming from the westward, and freshening, we are unable to weather Cape Selenti, and are obliged to make for a small cove, called Kalándra by the Turks, and Kháradra (its ancient name) by the Greeks. Here we are sheltered under the lee of a high cape, and by the help of six cables, three attached to the anchors, and three to the shore, we ride out a most tempestuous night of wind, rain, and thunder.

March 8.—At ten this forenoon, the weather having become serene, we land and spend the day at some huts on the sea-shore, belonging to a village on the hills which we do not see. Here the coast, retiring from the cape under which we were sheltered last night, forms a small bay; around it is a fertile valley; at the head of which a *torrent*, making its way from high mountains *, between lofty precipices, seems to have given to this place its Greek name of Kháradra. The retired valley, with the bold coast, and the woods and precipices at the back, is extremely beautiful. The only re-

* This is the Mount Andriclus which Strabo places above Charadrus.

mains of antiquity are part of a mole, just below the huts on the sea-shore. On the side of the torrent, a mile up the valley, is a deserted building, which has every appearance of Venetian or Genoese construction. Kháradra is reckoned by our boatmen ninety miles from Tzerína, twenty or thirty from Cape Selenti, and sixty from Aláya. It has been already remarked that they reckon eighty from Kelénderi to Tzerína. Comparing these computed distances with the real distances on the map, it appears that the Greek mile is about two-thirds of the geographical. As the word μίλι was borrowed from the Latin, the measure must originally have been the same as the Roman mile, though it is now shorter. It is, however, merely a computed and not a measured distance, and I could never obtain from the Greeks any accurate definition of it.

March 9.—We sail this forenoon at ten with a fair breeze, which in two hours brings us abreast of Cape Selenti. Here the wind slackens, and becomes variable, and sometimes contrary with frequent showers and calms, so that we do not arrive at Aláya till eight in the evening. During the first half of the distance from Cape Selenti, we sail under high cliffs and headlands, beyond which are some very lofty mountains covered with snow. Further on, the mountains retire more inland, and leave upon the coast a fertile plain, which increases in breadth as we approach Aláya.

March 10.—This town is situated upon a rocky hill, jutting into the sea from the outer or western-most angle of the plain. It resembles Gibraltar, the hill being naturally fortified on one side (the western) by perpendicular cliffs of vast height, and falling in the opposite direction by a very steep slope to the sea. The whole face of the hill is surrounded by high solid walls* and towers, but the lower part only is occupied by the town, which is about a mile in circumference. The ground upon which it stands is in some parts so steep that the houses rise above one another in terraces, so that the flat roofs of one row of houses serve for a street to those above them. To the eastward of the town there is an anchorage for large ships, and small vessels are drawn up on the beach. In the middle of the sea-front are some large vaulted structures, on a level with the water's edge, intended for sheltering galleys; and constructed, perhaps, by the Genoese. They now serve for building the vessels, called by the Turks Ghirlanghitsh (swallow), which are generally formed with three masts and a bolt-sprit, all bearing triangular sails. Of these and other vessels nearly resembling them, of from twenty to sixty tons burthen, there are several belonging to Aláya. The place is said tohave taken its name from its founder Alah-ed-din, son of Kai-

* In some parts of the modern wall are remains of Hellenic masonry, of the kind often called Cyclopian.

kosru, who was surnamed Kaikobad, and who was the tenth of the Seljukian dynasty, and the founder of the Iconian race. It seems to have become the principal maritime fortress and naval arsenal of these sovereigns, and of their successors the princes of Karamán. In the old maps Aláya is called Castel Ubaldo, which may possibly have been the name given to it by the Venetians or Genoese, when in possession of this and other strong holds upon the Caramanian coast, but there is no recollection of the name in this country at present. In the year 1471 the Prince of Karamán, then engaged in a struggle for independence with Mahomet the Second, was put in possession of Aláya, and several other places, by the Venetians, who were then in alliance with him as well as with Usum Kassan King of Persia against the Ottoman Emperor *. From the town, the beach runs eastward, and thence forms a long sweep to the south-east to Cape Selenti, which is seen from Aláya. The level coast extends about half that distance, and ends in an angle, where some trees are seen round a village, at which I was informed there are remains of an ancient city. There are other ruins said to be of great extent at a few hours to the northward of Aláya.

* Josaphat Barbaro, who was sent by the Venetian government into Persia, and who published a description of his journey, assisted at the capture of Corycus and Seleuceia by a squadron under Pietro Mocenigo. The work of Barbaro was printed at the Aldine press in 1543.

I was detained at Aláya by illness; and while General Koehler, with his two remaining companions, (Mr. Carlyle having left them in Cyprus,) pursued their journey overland to Constantinople, I proceeded thither by sea, visiting the most remarkable places on the coast, as well as the adjacent islands of Rhodus, Cos, Patmus, Samus, Chius, Lesbus, and Tenedus. Of those places which I visited on the coast, and which deserve to be more thoroughly described than they have yet been, the most remarkable are, 1. The ruins of a large city, with a noble theatre, at Kákava, in a fine harbour, formed by a range of rocky islands. 2. The island called Καστελόριζον by the Greeks, and Castel Rosso by the Italians. It is a flourishing little Greek town, carrying on a considerable commerce of timber and charcoal with Egypt. In a plain in the interior of the island, I found the remains of some ancient buildings, of Hellenic construction. The importance of the situation must at all times have attracted inhabitants. 3. Antiphellus, on the main land, opposite to Castel Rosso. Here I found a small theatre nearly complete, the remains of several public buildings and private houses, together with catacombs, and a great number of sarcophagi, some of which are very large and magnificent. The greater part have inscriptions, few of which are legible. In two or three, however, I read the name of the city Antiphellus.

4. Telmissus, at Méi, the port of Mákri, at the bottom of the gulf anciently called Glaucus. The theatre, and the porticoes and sepulchral chambers, excavated in the rocks at this place, are some of the most remarkable remains of antiquity in Asia Minor.
5. The ruins of Assus, at Behrém or Beriám Kalesi, opposite to Mólivo (the ancient Methymna), in Mytilene. The ruins are extremely curious. There is a theatre in very perfect preservation; and the remains of several temples lying in confused heaps upon the ground; an inscription upon an architrave belonging to one of these buildings shows that it was dedicated to Augustus; but some figures in low relief on another architrave, appear to be in a much more ancient style of art, and they are sculptured upon the hard granite of mount Ida, which forms the materials of several of the buildings*. On the western side of the city the remains of the walls and towers, with a gate, are in complete preservation; and without the walls is seen the cemetery, with numerous sarcophagi still standing in their places, and an ancient causeway leading through them to the gate. Some of these sarcophagi are

* The following words are distinguished upon one of the architraves .... ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ... ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ. On another architrave is recorded the name of a person who had bequeathed land for restoring the city, and from the profits of which the temple had been rebuilt. Ἐκ τῆς προσόδου τῶν ἀγρῶν, ὧν ἀπέλιπεν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῆς πόλεως Κλεόστρατος υἱὸς πόλεως, φύσει δὲ Τελλικόντος, ἐπεσκευάσθη.

of gigantic dimensions. The whole gives, perhaps, the most perfect idea of a Greek city that any where exists.

I shall now subjoin a brief itinerary of the route of General Koehler and his party from Aláya to Shughut, where he fell into the same road by which we came from Constantinople in January.

March 11.—From Aláya to A'lara, eight computed or caravan hours. The road leads along the sea-shore, sometimes just above the sea-beach, upon high woody banks, connected on the right with the great range of mountains which lies parallel to the coast; at others, across narrow fertile valleys, included between branches of the same mountains. There are one or two fine harbours formed by islands and projecting capes; but the coast for the most part is rocky and without shelter, and after such a westerly gale as occurred last night, is exposed to a tremendous surf. The equinoctial monsoon occurs very regularly upon these coasts, and the Greek sailors think themselves sufficiently prudent if they remain in port during the first fortnight of March, old style. A'lara is two or three miles from the sea, in a valley inclosed between woody hills, and situated amidst gardens and corn-fields, with neat fences. Near the village is a remarkable conical hill, with the ruins of a strong castle upon it in good preservation. It is

said by the natives to have been built by the Sultan Alah-ed-din, of Iconium.

March 12.—From A'lara to Hadji-Ali Kiúi, eight hours. The road proceeded at a distance of three or four miles from the sea, crossing several fertile and well-cultivated valleys, and passing some néat villages pleasantly situated. The valleys are watered by streams coming from a range of lofty mountains, appearing at a great distance on the right. The largest of these rivers was a little beyond the fortified hill of A'lara, and was traversed by a wooden bridge sixty feet in length. Another large river occurred about three hours further. On the west side of the gulf, a little to the left of the direction of the route, appeared another range of mountains *, still more lofty than those on the right, and so distant that nothing but their outline was visible. No remains of Grecian antiquity were seen by the travellers either this day or yesterday.

March 13.—From Hadji-Ali Kiúi to Menavgát, four hours: weather rainy. Crossed the large river of Menavgát at one hour short of the town, which is situated in the midst of fields and gardens, in a fertile district, watered by many rivulets. The surrounding valleys are well cultivated and inhabited. Distant mountains appear to the north and east; and to the N. W. is the steep range which rises from that side of the gulf, and extends from

* Mount Solyma, then distant about sixty miles.

Cape Khelidóni to Adália. The price of a sheep at Menavgát is eight piastres, equal to twelve shillings sterling; four fowls for a piastre.

March 14.—Detained at Menavgát for want of horses.

March 15.—From Menavgát to Dashashéhr, six hours. These two days were frosty, and perfectly clear. The road passes at the same distance from the sea as before, but winds for the most part through deserted valleys, where the rich soil, and the rains which had lately fallen, had made the road very muddy. There was seen abundance of the cattle which is brought for pasture in the winter and spring from the mountainous districts of the interior; at intervals are several villages, with a scanty cultivation around them. Dashashéhr is situated upon some rocky hills, commanding a view of the sea; and the cottages have gardens, and orchards, and plantations of vines and fig-trees attached to them. The great range of mountains is seen at a distance of twenty or thirty miles to the northward. The whole of this part of Pamphylia seems to be a succession of fine valleys, separated by ridges branching from the mountains, and each watered by a stream of greater or less magnitude.

March 16.—From Dashashéhr to Stavros, six hours, through a vast plain of the richest pasture, in which were great numbers of oxen and sheep. At the end of two or three hours was a large river,

crossed by a bridge built upon the ruins of a magnificent ancient bridge, one arch of which, still standing, forms a part of the modern work. Several other smaller streams were passed in the course of the day. In the last half of the road the late rains had inundated the plains in several places. The villages are numerous, and the population consists entirely of Turks, who are hospitable and inoffensive.

March 17.—From Stavros to Adália, six hours. The first half over the same kind of road, inundated in many places. At the end of two hours a large and rapid stream was passed by a ferry, a little beyond which, appeared on the left the ruins called by the Turks Eski-Kálesi, where are great remains of walls and vaulted buildings. The road passes from thence over a more elevated level, with a dry soil, nearly as far as the walls of Adália, at one hour short of which it crosses a very deep and rapid stream*, dividing itself into several branches,

* In passing by sea from Aláya to Castel Rosso, I was obliged to follow the coast of the gulf of Adália, the sailors being afraid, in this season, of crossing directly to Cape Khelidóni. This practice has been common among the Greek seamen of every age, and was anciently expressed by the word καταχολπίζω. After having been detained three days in the mouth of a river, to the westward of Menavgát, I passed within sight of the mouth of the river Dudén, not far to the eastward of Adália, and I observed that it discharged itself into the sea by a perpendicular fall over a high cliff. This singularity accounts for the name Catarrhactes, anciently given to it.

from which there are artificial derivations for irrigating the gardens and cultivated fields around Adália. Besides the two principal streams just mentioned, the road from Stávros crossed several smaller, particularly one between those two, the banks of which are thickly sheltered with trees, and where is a solid ancient bridge, its summit level with the banks. Adália is a large and populous town, which, though governed only by a Motsellim, is considered as one of the best governments in Anatolia, the district being large and fertile, and the maritime commerce extensive. The town is situated around a circular port; behind it, on a height, is a castle, built with battlements and square towers. In the suburbs, the houses are dispersed amidst orange groves and gardens, and thus occupy a large space of ground. Granite columns, and a great variety of fragments of ancient sculpture, found about the place, attest its former importance as a Greek city. Among other remains are those of an aqueduct, extending the whole length of the suburbs, but now quite ruined and overgrown with bushes. These different objects, with the sea, and the stupendous ridge of rugged mountains on the west side of the gulf, render the place extremely picturesque.

March 18.—Halt at Adália.

March 19.—From Adália to Bidjikli, seven hours, due north. The road passes over a region

of rugged rocks, intersected with hollows full of water. No cultivation was in sight; to the left the same kind of ground seemed to extend as far as the ridge of rocky mountains, which borders the west side of the gulf, and to the right as far as the Dudén, or river of Adália.

March 20.—From Bidjikli to Karabunár Kiúi, nine hours: the first two hours over the same rugged plain not far from the river. The two great ranges on the west and north of the plains of Adália now approach each other, and at length are only divided by the passes, through which the river finds its way. The road, however, leaves this gorge to the right, and ascends the mountain by a paved winding causeway, a work of great labour and ingenuity. At the foot of it, in the plain, are the ruins of a castle, and of many towers and gateways of elegant architecture, with cornices, capitals, and fluted columns lying upon the ground. Sarcophagi, with their covers beside them, are seen in great numbers, as well in the plain as for a considerable distance up the side of the hill. Some of them were of large size, many with inscriptions. At the top of this formidable pass, which was anciently commanded by the city, standing at the foot of it, the road enters an elevated level surrounded with mountains, and proceeds along a winding valley amidst rocks and precipices, some of which, being quite detached and perpendicular, appear at a di-

stance like castles and towers. The konák this evening was a tchiftlik (farm and country-house) of the Motsellim of Adália, situated near three small villages on the banks of a rivulet, in a pure air and most romantic situation. The usual spring weather of these climates has now prevailed for some days; showers, often accompanied with thunder, occur in the afternoon and in the early part of the night, and during the remainder of the day the sky is perfectly clear and serene.

March 21.—From Karabunár Kiúi to Tsháltigtshi Kiúi, five hours and a half. One hour from the place of departure is a khan, formed out of the remains of an old building, upon which are angels sculptured on either side of a large arched gate. It appears to have been a church of the earliest ages of Christianity. The route continues through valleys of the same description as that of Karabunár Kiúi, level and surrounded by barren rocks and mountains. A neighbouring town called Butshuklu, is said to contain a thousand houses, and has the reputation of refusing quarters to strangers, especially to couriers and persons travelling under the orders of the Porte. This district, however, as has already been remarked in regard to other places having the character of rebellious, exhibits several marks of superior industry, and a better kind of public economy; good roads and bridges are seen,

and large clean pieces of wheat surrounded with ditches or fences. In the mountain not far from Butshuklu there are said to be ruins of ancient buildings with columns, and sculptured and inscribed stones. A hill which bounds the district of Butshuklu to the north limits the command of the Motsellim of Adália. At the foot of this hill is a khan, which appears to have been constructed from the ruins of some large ancient building; fragments of architecture, and ruins of walls, are seen on every side of it. The hill is rugged and extensive, and has on the north side a level much lower than all those lying between it and Adália. A river flows through this plain, and there are many villages, among which is that of Tsháltigtshi. The people appeared simple and hospitable, and welcomed the travellers by presents of fruit and flowers, which they threw down at their feet, and then departed without saying a word. The villages are surrounded with fruit-trees, but no oranges, nor lemons, nor olives are seen among them; and the season here is a month or six weeks behind that of Adália. Wheel-carriages are used: the wheels being either solid trucks formed of one piece of wood, or of three pieces joined together, and shod with an iron plate turned up at the edges, and thus fixed on without any nails. They had also iron axles, and a box for them to turn in, exhibiting a neatness of workmanship seldom seen in Turkey.

March 22.—From Tcháltigtshi to Burdur, seven hours and a half; for the first two hours along the valley; then up a high steep mountain, not a mere rock, like the others which the travellers had passed, but having trees, and a soil fit for any vegetation. They passed an insulated valley, where was a rivulet which disappeared in a cavity at the foot of a mountain. The weather was very cold, and four inches of snow lay upon the ground at no great distance above them. After a narrow craggy pass, they entered an open country, which, unlike the level valleys to the southward, was diversified with undulations and slopes. At two hours short of Burdur, they came into a valley full of rocks, thrown about in the wildest manner: some of these were of a kind which looked like bundles of rushes, incrusted with cement, and petrified into a solid mass: in some places the scene around had the appearance of a succession of enormous sand-pits. They passed several water-mills, and saw nothing of the town or lake of Burdur until they were close upon it. The houses are flat-roofed; the town is large, and comparatively well paved, and there is some appearance of wealth and industry in the streets. Tanning and dyeing of leather, weaving and bleaching of linen, seemed to be the chief occupations. Streams of clear water flow through most of the streets. The country around produces good butter. The salt lake of Burdur begins at a

very short distance from the town, and stretches to the N. and N.W., forming a beautiful picture with its winding shores, its shrubby or bare and rocky capes, and the cultivated lands, numerous villages, and woody hills around it.

March 23.—Detained at Burdur by a violent southerly gale and heavy rain.

March 24.—From Burdur to Ketsiburlu, six hours. The road along the edge of the lake having been rendered difficult by the rains, they took another nearer the hills. They passed a good deal of arable land, and many villages with abundance of fruit-trees and vineyards. The walnut-trees grow to a great size: on the 22nd they had seen poplars also of not less than six and eight feet in diameter.

March 25.—From Ketsiburlu to Dombai-óvasi (the valley of Dombai) five hours: the wind north: a sharp frost, and the hills around covered with snow: the road very good, leading at first through rocky hills, but afterwards through a rich valley, where are many villages; Dombai is the chief and one of the largest. Here they received much civility from the Motsellim, whose design in it was to get their interest at the Porte in his endeavours to obtain the Pashalik of Isbárta, a considerable town at no great distance to the eastward. At Dombai they were told of the ruins of an ancient town very near, with the remains of columns, inscribed stones, and statues.

March 26.—From Dombai to Sandukli on the river Méndere, the distance seven hours, through a fine country variegated with gentle undulations, but bare of wood, except upon the mountains, which are at no great distance on either side. There were several small villages and a good deal of arable land, but the season was still six weeks behind that of the coast: the cold severe with much snow.

March 27.—From Sandukli to Sitshanli, seven hours: a north wind, with ice an inch thick: the road was for the most part hilly and stony, but in some places there were villages and cultivated lands. Sitshanli is in a fertile valley, with many villages around.

March 28.—From Sitshanli to Altún-Tash, nine hours: the country is of an undulated form with little wood. They observed several villages, and in many places scattered fragments of ancient buildings, but in no one spot any thing that indicated the site of a large town. At Altún-Tash the snow was lying on the ground. The place takes its name (signifying golden stone) from some rocks of a yellow colour in the neighbourhood. It stands on the left bank of the river Pursek, the ancient Thymbrius, or Thymbres, a branch of the Sangarius. Here were 200 horsemen of the Pasha of Kutáya, who had been reducing a rebellious chieftain, and were in the act of driving away his flocks.

March 29.—From Altún-Tash to Kutáya, nine hours: at first over a swampy plain, which had been inundated by the rains and the melting of the snow upon the hills, then across the Pursek, which between this place and Kutáya forms an S: a high mountain, at the foot of which Kutáya is situated, filling up the northern part of the S. After crossing the Pursek at Altún-Tash, they passed over gentle hills and a pleasant country. Nearly midway were a fountain, the ruins of a mosque, and an ancient Greek church. A good gravel road led in a winding direction through a delightful scene of lawns of the finest herbage, adorned with detached trees and clumps of evergreen, disposed in a manner which art could not have improved. From hence, after passing a tract of wild cliffs and rocks, which formed a remarkable contrast to the former, they descended a steep hill to the Pursek, here a very deep and rapid river. Having crossed it by a bridge, and ascended a part of the mountain of Kutáya, they proceeded along a dangerous path on the edge of an immense precipice: the mountain, with its snow-topped summit, rising to a great height on the left, and on the right the Pursek taking a large sweep round the base of the mountain. Thus they made almost half the circuit of it before they arrived at Kutáya. This is a large town with an ancient castle, which stands upon a projecting point of the hill rising above the town. Being the usual

residence of the Beglerbeg of Anatolia, Kutáya may in some measure be considered the capital of the province, though much inferior in size to Smyrna, Tokát, and A´ngura. The Pasha being absent with the army in Syria, the place was governed by a Motsellim, who furnished the travellers with a tchaous to accompany them to Constantinople, and orders for horses and other necessaries. Ancient coins and gems may be collected in the bazars of Kutáya in considerable numbers.

March 30.—Halt at Kutáya.

March 31.—From Kutáya to In-óghi, twelve hours: the weather fine, and the road for the most part good. They soon crossed the Pursek, and passed at first over a flat swampy road, inundated by floods from the mountains; they then ascended a hill, upon the top of which the rocks appeared to be of a hard and handsome kind of breccia. Thus they proceeded nearly half the day's journey: the scenery sometimes very dreary and barren; at others grand and picturesque; but the country no where cultivated. They then descended a steep slope to the Pursek, which they now crossed for the second time since they had left Kutáya, and proceeded for some distance along its left bank with high steep cliffs on each side; among these, and along the river, grow a variety of trees and shrubs, particularly evergreens. In one part conical and sharp-pointed rocks arise to a great height, re-

sembling in some places the spires and ornamented sides of Gothic churches. Here the ancients had excavated crypts, niches, and sepulchral chambers with doors and windows. After the pass the valley opens into fine meadows, with the river winding through the middle. Soon afterwards the road quits this valley and turns to the right up another, watered by a small branch of the same river; the route then passes through a tract of country where it winds amidst clumps of evergreens beautifully disposed by nature upon a fine turf, with hills, valleys, and lawns, as in an English park. Here they met a company of Turks coursing with their greyhounds, who made them a present of a hare. They then crossed a ridge, the absolute height of which (though apparently inconsiderable, when compared with the adjacent valleys) was indicated by large patches of snow lying upon the ground. The country consists of fine pasture-lands, mixed with good timber-trees. On a long descent from this place they looked down upon an extensive and well cultivated plain, and at the foot of the descent they arrived at In-óghi, a large village situated on the edge of the plains under the vast precipices of a mountain of bare rock, excavated naturally into caverns, and artificially into sepulchral chambers. Some of those in the upper part of the heights are the abode of eagles, which are seen soaring around them in great numbers.

One enormous cavern is shut up in front by a wall with battlements and towers, and seems once to have served as a sort of citadel to the town.

April 1.—From In-óghi to Shughut, five hours: the weather very clear. The road passes over pleasant hills and dales, where appears a considerable degree of cultivation. The country is interspersed with fine oaks and beeches, and in one place there is a large forest. Some symptoms of spring have begun to appear, but the season is not yet so forward as it was upon the south coast in the beginning of February. Not a tree has begun to bud: the corn is but just above the ground; and primroses, violets, and crocuses, are the only flowers to be seen. At Shughut the appearance was more wintry than when we passed in January; and the broad summit of Olympus was capped with snow to a much greater extent.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE ANCIENT PLACES ON THE ROAD FROM ADALIA TO SHUGHUT, INCLUDING REMARKS ON THE COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

Ancient Authorities—Cotyaeium—Termessus—Lake Ascania—Milyas—Cibyra—Selge—Petnelissus—Cretopolis—Lyrbe—Sagalassus—Cremna—Lysinoe—Sinda—Isionda—Tabæ, Tiaba—Mender-su at Sandukli the ancient Obrimas—Ancient Sites on the four Roads of the Table, which cross the modern Route from Adália to Shughut—Themisonium—Cormasa—Celænæ or Apameia—Eumeneia—Apollonia—Euphorbium—Conni—Eucarpia—Acmonia—Cadi—Azani—Synaus.

I SHALL now submit to the reader some observations on the ancient geography of the route of General Koehler and his party from Adália to Shughut.

This road traverses a part of Asia Minor upon which ancient history throws little light. The text of Strabo is almost contradictory in regard to some of the principal places which lay near the road; and the itineraries supply no routes in this direction, though there are five in the Peutinger Table which intersect it.

The march of Alexander from Pamphylia to Gordium in Phrygia, as related by Arrian; and the description by Livy of the progress of the Consul Cneius

Manlius in his Expedition from Cibyra into Pamphylia and from thence by Sagalassus to Synnada and into Galatia, are the only historical documents. As the passage of Livy is very detailed and was borrowed from Polybius*, its information deserves more confidence than is usually due to that of a Latin author in regard to Grecian geography; and it may hereafter be extremely useful, when the ancient ruins, with which Pisidia and the adjacent districts are known to abound, shall have been more explored. In the present state of our knowledge of the country, it supplies not much positive information.

The only point in General Koehler's route which can be considered absolutely certain is Cotyaeium. The position of that city in Phrygia Epictetus, not far from Nacoleia, and Dorylæum†, agrees perfectly with that of Kutáya, the resemblance of which name to the Greek Κοτυάειον is still more striking when we observe the identity of accent.

There are two other places also in General Koehler's route, upon the ancient names of which we cannot entertain much doubt. These are Termessus and the lake Ascania. The latter corre-

* This is evident upon comparing it with the fragments of the 22d book of Polybius, as well as from the confession of Livy himself in several places.

† Τῆς δ' Ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας Ἀξανοί τε εἰσι καὶ Νακόλεια καὶ Κοτιάειον καὶ Μιδάειον καὶ Δορύλαιον πόλεις καὶ Κάδοι· τοὺς δὲ Κάδους ἔνιοι τῆς Μυσίας φασίν. Strabo, p. 576.

sponds with the salt lake of Burdur; for Arrian relates that Alexander, after having reduced Sagalassus and some other strong places in Pisidia, passed by the lake Ascania in his way to Celænæ (afterwards Apameia), and that the water of this lake was so salt, that the inhabitants had no need of sea salt for domestic purposes *. The same fact is mentioned by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna. Perhaps this is the lake Ascanius, of which Pliny remarks, that the upper surface of the water was fresh, while the lower was nitrous †.

The great ruins which General Koehler passed through at the ascent of the mountains, on the second day of his departure from Adália, seem to be those of Termessus, which, next to Selge, was the largest of the Pisidian cities, and was situated at the passes of mount Solyma, leading from the maritime plains through Milyas to the lake Ascania ‡,

* Arrian, l. 1. c. 29. † Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. c. 10.

‡ Arrian ubi supra.

Μιλύας δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Τερμησσὸν στενῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου ὑπερθέσεως δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Σίνδα, παρατείνουσα ὀρεινὴ μέχρι Σαγαλασσοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀπαμέων χώρας. Strabo, p. 631.

Ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτῆς (scil. Phaselidis) τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρος καὶ Τερμησσὸς, Πισιδικὴ πόλις, ἐπικειμένη τοῖς στενοῖς, δι' ὧν ὑπέρβασίς ἐστιν εἰς τὴν Μιλυάδα. Strabo, p. 666.

In Arrian the names are Salagassus and Telmissus, but improperly, as the coins of the two cities show. Stephanus says there was a greater and lesser Termissus in Pisidia, which is confirmed by the coins with the legend, Τερμήσσεων τῶν μειζόνων. (Eckhel and Mionnet in Pisidia.)

and from thence to Celænæ. Milyas was the country of the more ancient Solymi *; and being also described by Strabo as the mountainous district, which extended from the passes of Termessus to the district of Apameia, it answers exactly to the elevated region which General Koehler traversed after he had mounted the pass which I have supposed the Termessian.

Between Milyas and the valley of the Mæander were Cabalis and the Cibyratis †. The latter district, which long flourished under the monarchy of a family named Moagetes ‡, was a tetrapolis; the four cities were, Cibyra, which had two votes in the general council, Œnoanda, Balbura, and Bubon. The Cibyratis is clearly indicated by Strabo to have been situated between Lycia and the parts of the valley of the Mæander about Nysa and Antiocheia §; in the height of its prosperity, its dependencies extended from Pisidia and Milyas to Lycia and Peræa

* Strabo, p. 573, 630.

† ....τὰ μέχρι Καρούρων εἰρηται. Τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς δύσιν, ἡ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πόλις τῶν ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ, τῆς Καρίας ἤδη· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ Κίβυρά ἐστιν ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ ἡ Σίνδα καὶ ἡ Καβαλὶς, μεχρὶ τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ τῆς Λυκίας. Strabo, p. 630.

....τῆς Νυσαΐδος, ἥ ἐστι χώρα κατὰ τὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πέραν μέχρι τῆς Κιβυράτιδος καὶ τῆς Καβαλίδος. Strabo, p. 629.

‡ Strabo, p. 631. Liv. l. 38. c. 14.

§ Compare the preceding passages of Strabo, pp. 629, 630, with those of pp. 651, 665, where he says that a branch of Taurus occupied all Lycia, from the Cibyratis to Peræa of the Rhodii, and that Tlos a Lycian city stood near the pass leading to Cibyra.

of the Rhodii *. Balbura and Bubon having been given to Lycia by Murena, on the reduction of the last Moagetes, and Œnoanda having been included in the same province, in the arrangement of Constantine †, while Cibyra was ascribed to Caria, it may be presumed that Cibyra lay to the northward of the three other cities. This in some measure agrees with Ptolemy, who places Bubon, Œnoanda, and Balbura in a district of Lycia called Carbalia; under this name, as a part of Pamphylia, he ranges also Termessus, Cretopolis, and six other towns; Cibyra he places in Phrygia. Such are the data afforded by ancient history, to assist the traveller in discovering the sites of the four cities of the Cibyratis.

Polybius ‡, in his account of the proceedings of Achæus, king of the provinces *within* Taurus, against Antiochus the Great §, has furnished a few data as to the situation of some of the towns on the frontiers of Pisidia and Pamphylia. In relating the operations of Garsyeris, commander of the army of Achæus, whose ostensible object was to assist the people of Pednelissus against the Selgenses, Polybius appears to apply the name of Climax to all the ridge of the mountains Solyma, from the summit called Olympus on the shore of the Gulf of Attaleia, to the great heights of Taurus. Garsyeris

* Strabo, p. 631.
† Hierocl. Synecd.
‡ Polyb. l. 5. c. 72.
§ In the year before Christ 219.

was at first unable to penetrate through the passes of Mount Climax, leading to Pednelissus, because they were occupied by the Selgenses, and particularly the pass of Saporda—a place not mentioned by any other author. We know from Strabo*, that Pednelissus was situated inland from Aspendus; and it has been seen that the principal pass of the Solyma was commanded by the city of Termessus: Saporda, therefore, may perhaps have stood at another pass which leads over the ridge of Solyma from Adália in a W. N.W. direction to Dauas and Denizli. Cretopolis in Milyas, where Garsyeris encamped before he attempted the passes, is shown from this circumstance to have been on the western side of Mount Climax: and the Etennenses, who, together with the Aspendii, joined the party of Achæus against Selge, are stated by the historian to have inhabited the mountains above that city,—being thus obviously the same people as the Catennenses of Strabo†; who describes them as bordering on Selge and the Homonadenses.

Lyrbe, which, as well as Etenna, was still a bishopric in the ninth century‡, under the metropoli-

* Strabo, p. 667.

† . . . οἱ Σελγεῖς οἵπερ εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν Πισιδῶν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλέον αὐτῶν μέρος τὰς ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Ταυρου κατέχει· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Σίδης καὶ Ἀσπένδου, Παμφυλικῶν πόλεων, κατέχουσι γεώλοφα χωρία, ἐλαιόφυτα πάντα· τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀρεινὰ ἤδη, Κατεννεῖς, ὅμοροι Σελγεῦσι καὶ Ὁμοναδεῦσι· Σαγαλασσεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τὰ πρὸς τῇ Μιλυάδι. Strabo, p. 569.

‡ Notit. Episc. Græc.

tan of Side, seems, from some verses of Dionysius of Charax *, to have stood between Termessus and Selge, a little above the maritime plains, among hills once covered with olives, but now affording little but pasture.

There is great difficulty in reconciling the authority of Arrian with that of Strabo in regard to the site of Sagalassus, otherwise called Selgessus †, one of the most important cities and most fertile districts in Pisidia ‡; and which could not have been far from the route of General Koehler. Arrian, in a passage already referred to, seems to place it to the south of Burdur §; thus far agreeing with Strabo, who, after describing the cities on the southern side of Mount Taurus, just noticed, remarks that Sagalassus was *within*, or on the northern side of Taurus, near Milyas ||, which district, as he tells us in another place, extended northward as far as those of Sagalassus and Apameia ¶.

Strabo further informs us **, that Sagalassus was

* Τοῖς δ' ἔπι Πισιδέων λιπαρὸν πέδον, ἦχι πόληες
Τερμισσὸς Λύρβη τε καὶ ἣ ἐπολίσσατο λαὸς
Πρίν ποτ' Ἀμυκλαίων, μεγαλώνυμος ἐν χθονὶ Σέλγη.
Dionys. Perieg. v. 858.

† Strabo, p. 569.

‡ Artemidorus ap. Strabon. p. 570. Liv. l. 38. c. 15. Arrian, l. 1. c. 28.

§ Arrian, l. 1. c. 29. || See Note †, p. 149.

¶ See Note ‡, p. 146.

** Ἀμύντας . . . . . πολλὰ χωρία ἐξεῖλεν ἀπόρθητα πρότερον ὄντα, ὧν καὶ Κρήμνα. τὸ δὲ Σανδάλιον οὐδ' ἐνεχείρησε βίᾳ προσά-

one day's journey from Apameia; whereas Arrian relates that Alexander was five days in marching from Sagalassus to Celænæ, passing by the lake Ascania.

Nothing but an examination of this country by an intelligent traveller can clear up this difficulty, or explain the passage of Strabo cited in the note below; and for this purpose the ruins seen by Paul Lucas in this country, and the others heard of by General Koehler, probably contain ample materials. The remarkable site which gave name to Cremna * could hardly elude research; and it is the more likely to preserve some remains of antiquity, as having been a Roman colony.

If by the *lake*, mentioned in the march of Manlius, Polybius, from whom Livy has taken all this part of his history, meant the lake of Burdur, Lysinoe may have occupied the site of Burdur; or more probably some situation near the opposite end of the lake, where the future traveller may perhaps find the river Lyses, from which Lysinoe seems to

γεσθαι, μεταξὺ κείμενον τῆς τε Κρήμνης καὶ Σαγαλασσοῦ. Τὴν μὲν οὖν Κρήμναν ἄποικοι Ῥωμαίων ἔχουσι. Σαγαλασσὸς δ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὑφ' ᾧ καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντου βασιλεία πᾶσα· διέχει δ' Ἀπαμείας ἡμέρας ὁδὸν, κατάβασιν ἔχουσα σχεδόν τι καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ Σέλγησσον. Strabo, p. 569.

* Κρήμναν ..... ἐν ἀποκρήμνῳ τε κειμένην καὶ κατὰ μέρος χαράδραις βαθυτάταις ὀχυρωμένην. Zosim. l. 1. c. 69.

have taken its name. And this might also lead to the discovery of the lake Caralitis and Sinda*.

It is evident from the passage of Livy just cited, that Sinda and Isionda were different places, and not the same place as has sometimes been supposed. Livy seems to agree with Strabo in placing Sinda to the northward of Cibyra at the extremity of Pisidia bordering on Caria and Phrygia; whereas

* "A Cibyra per agros Sindensium exercitus ductus, transgressusque Caularem amnem, posuit castra. Postero die est præter Caralitin paludem agmen ductum; ad Mandropolim manserunt; inde progredientibus ad Lagon, proximam urbem metu incolæ fugerunt; inde ab Lysis fluminis fonte, postero die ad Cobulatum (ap. Polyb. Κολοβάτον) amnem progressi. Termessenses eo tempore Isiondensium arcem, urbe capta, oppugnabant .... Volenti consuli causa in Pamphyliam divertendi oblata est; adveniens obsidione Isiondenses exemit. Termesso pacem dedit, 50 talentis argenti acceptis: item Aspendiis cæterisque Pamphyliæ populis. Ex Pamphylia rediens ad fluvium Taurum primo die, postero ad Xylinen comen posuit castra. Profectus inde continentibus itineribus ad Cormasa (ap. Polyb. Κύρμασα) urbem pervenit. Darsa proxima urbs erat; eam ... desertam ... invenit. Progredienti præter paludes (ap. Polyb. τὴν λίμνην) legati ab Lysinoe dedentes urbem venerunt. Deinde in agrum Sagalassenum, uberem fertilemque omni genere frugum, ventum est. Colunt Pisidæ, longe optimi bello regionis hujus: quum ea res animos facit, tum agri fœcunditas, et multitudo hominum, et situs inter paucas munitæ urbis. ..... Progressus inde ad Obrimæ fontes, ad vicum, quem Aporidos comen vocant, posuit castra. Eo Seleucus ab Apamea postero die venit. Ægros inde et inutilia impedimenta quum Apameam dimisisset, ducibus itinerum ab Seleuco acceptis, profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum, postero die Dinias Phrygiæ processit. Inde Synnada," &c. Liv. l. 38. c. 15.

Isionda appears clearly to have been on the Pamphylian side of Termessus*.

Dombai seems to be a corruption of Tabæ: hardly, indeed, a corruption, as it is no more than the hard and rustic pronunciation of the Greek word Τάβαι. The situation of Dombai accords very well with that which Strabo assigns to Tabæ, for he places it in the part of Pisidia adjacent to Phrygia and Caria†, and names it among the cities which lay around Apameia and Laodiceia, which is precisely the position of Dombai‡. The fertile plain which has obtained the name of Dombai-ovasi, or Valley of Dombai, corresponds equally with the Ταβηνὸν πεδίον, which, according to another passage of Strabo, lay on the confines of Phrygia and Pisidia§. It can hardly be doubted that Livy has incorrectly described Tabæ as situated on the frontier of Pisidia towards the Pamphylian sea¶.

The river called the Mender-su, which General Koehler crossed at Sandukli, seems to be that branch of the Mæander anciently called Obrimas,

* Compare the preceding Note with those in pp. 146, 147, 158. Artemidorus (ap. Strabon. p. 570) includes Sinda among the cities of Pisidia. Stephanus calls it a city of Lycia.

† Strabo, p. 570. ‡ Strabo, p. 576.

§ Strabo, p. 627.

¶ "Inde (ab Antiochia ad Mæandrum) ad Gordiutichos, quod vocant, processum est; ex eo loco ad Tabas tertiis castris perventum: in finibus Pisidarum posita est urbs, in ea parte, quæ vergit ad Pamphylium mare." Liv. l. 38. c. 13.

the fountains of which were something more than two days' march from Synnada, and not far from Metropolis on the side towards Apameia*. The modern application of the name Mæander (slightly corrupted) to a stream which was anciently considered a tributary of that river, is another instance of those natural changes of geographical nomenclature, of which a similar example has already been given in the case of the river Sangarius.

It has already been remarked, that General Koehler's route was crossed by five of the Roman roads marked in the Peutinger Table. These are, beginning from the southward, 1. From Laodiceia ad Lycum to Perge; 2. From Apameia Cibotus to Antiocheia of Pisidia; 3. From Apameia to Synnada; 4. from Apameia to Dorylæum; 5. From Philadelphia to Dorylæum.—The real situations of all these cities, except Antioch, being known with sufficient exactitude, those of the intermediate places on the several roads would also have been determined, had the distances in the Table been accurate; but unfortunately, like some of those to which I have already had occasion to advert, they are either imperfect or they are obviously erroneous, when compared with the map.

1. From Laodiceia ad Lycum to Perge, passing through Themisonium and Cormasa.—Although the direct distance is upwards of 100 G. M. there

* See the Note page 152.

are only 46 M. P. marked in the Table, namely, 34 between Themisonium and Cormasa, and 12 from Cormasa to Perge. If these two distances were correct, therefore, the omitted distance between Laodiceia and Themisonium ought to be supplied with about 100 M. P. It is impossible to believe however that Themisonium, which is named by Strabo among the smaller towns around Apameia and Laodiceia*, could have been so far to the south-east. Cormasa, on the other hand, must have been much more than 12 M. P. from Perge; for it appears from Livy that Cormasa was at a considerable distance from the borders of Pamphylia towards Lysinoe and the lake of Burdur †; which agrees with Ptolemy, who names it among the cities of Pisidia and next to Lysinia. The suspicion of inaccuracy in this route of the Table is confirmed by the negligences which occur on its continuation to Side; where the distance between Perge and Syllium is wanting, and where Syllium and Aspendus occupy each other's places. Upon the whole, therefore, this route serves only to give us the line of Themisonium and Cormasa, the distance between which two places (34 M. P.) may

* Strabo, p. 576. See Note *, p. 158.—Ptolemy places it in the same part of the country with Cibyra, Hierapolis and Apameia. By Hierocles it is named among the towns of Phrygia Pacatiana, together with Laodiceia, Colossæ and Hierapolis.

† See Note p. 152.

perhaps be correct. And so far it may be an useful approximation to the traveller.

2. From Apameia to Antiocheia of Pisidia.—There cannot be a stronger proof of the little progress yet made in geographical discovery in Asia Minor, than the fact, that the site of Apameia still remains unexplored. Under the name of Celænæ, it was the capital of Phrygia; and in Roman times, although not equal in political importance to Laodiceia, which was the residence of the proconsul of Asia, it was inferior only to Ephesus as a centre of commercial transactions *. It appears from Pococke to have been at a place called Dinglar (or some such name), situated, as well as we can discover amidst the negligence and want of precision which are the usual characteristics of Pococke's narrative, at 8 or 10 miles on the right of the road leading from Khónos to Ishékle †, and about 16 miles ‡ to the southward of the latter place. Pococke himself had no doubt that some remains of antiquity which he observed at Ishekle were those of Apameia; thus overlooking, or fail-

* Strabo, p. 577.

† Pococke's Travels, vol. 2. part 2. c. 14.

‡ I have somewhat enlarged Pococke's computation of miles, as I find, in the sequel of his route to A'ngura, that (contrary to the common error of travellers) it is generally below the truth. He computes about 100 English miles from Karahissár to A'ngura; whereas the distance is little less than 120 G. M. in direct distance.

ing to decypher, an inscription which he copied at that place, and which clearly proves it to be the site of Eumeneia or Eumenia*.

Eumenia was situated on the river Glaucus, as appears from an existing coin †. Pliny names the Glaucus, but places Eumenia upon the river Cludrus. Possibly this may have been the name of the sources of the Glaucus, those fine fountains which Pococke observed at Ishékle, and which may perhaps join another stream in or near the town.

As Eumenia is marked in the Table on the road

* The beginning of this inscription is imperfect: it ends in a form common upon sepulchral monuments, by subjecting the violator of the tomb to a fine, payable to the treasury of the city, and another sum to the Council.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
ΦΙΣΚΟΝ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΑ ΔΙΣΧΕΙΛΙΑ ΚΑΙ
ΤΗ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΑ Β. Φ

Pococke copied the third letter of the lower line Σ instead of E, which was probably the cause of his failing to discover the ancient name of Ishekle. Εὐμενεύς is the ethnic adjective of Eumeneia in Stephanus, and ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ is the legend on the coins of that city. Another inscription at Ishekle supported a statue of Marcus Aurelius, τὸν ἴδιον Θεὸν εὐεργέτην. And a third attests the worship at that place, among other deities, of the *dæmon Angdistis*, ΑΝΓΔΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ, under which name the *mother* of the gods was adored at Pessinus. Her worship in the country adjacent to the Mæander may be inferred from Pliny, who alludes to her epithet of Berecynthia in the passage in which he speaks of Eumenia: "Est Eumenia Cludro flumini apposita, Glaucus amnis. Lysias oppidum et Orthosia, Berecynthius tractus, Nysa, Tralles," &c. l. 5. c. 29.

† Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet. Phrygia.

from Dorylæum to Apameia at 26 M. P. from the latter, we have a presumption in this datum alone that Apameia was not far from Dinglar, the site of which modern place, relatively to the other chief ancient cities of Phrygia, is in conformity with that of Apameia, as described by Strabo *. Our knowledge of the peculiarities of the place itself is derived from Pococke and some recent travellers, who were informed that at the place called Dinglar or Dizla there are many remains of antiquity under a high hill which has a lake on the summit and a river falling down the face of the hill; for this description of Dinglar accords precisely with that of Celænæ as given by several ancient authors. According to Xenophon † the Mæander rose in the palace of Cyrus, flowing from thence through his park and the city of Celænæ: and the sources of the Marsyas were

* P. 576. "To the south of Phrygia Epictetus," he says, "is Great Phrygia, which has Pessinus and Lycaonia on the right, the Mæones, Lydians and Carians on the left: it contains Phrygia Paroreius and the part towards Pisidia, and the country about Amorium, and Synnada and Eumeneia, Apameia surnamed Cibotus, and Laodiceia, which are the two greatest of the Phrygian cities, and around which are other smaller towns, Aphrodisias, Colossæ, Themisonium, Sanaus, Metropolis, Apollonias; and still further off Peltæ, Tabæ, Eucarpia, Lysias:" the "still further off" (ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω τούτων) is however not geographically accurate in regard to all the places mentioned.

† Κελαινὰς ..... Ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας .... Διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν

at the palace of the king of Persia in a lofty situation under the acropolis of Celænæ. From Arrian and Q. Curtius * we learn that the citadel was upon a lofty precipitous hill, and that the Marsyas fell from its fountains over the rocks with a great noise: from Herodotus † it appears that the same river was from this circumstance called Catarrhactes; and from Strabo ‡, that a lake on the

Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ, ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον. Xenoph. Cyri Exp. l. 1. c. 2.

Xenophon adds that Celænæ was a large and flourishing city; that the palace and acropolis were built by Xerxes on his return from Greece; that the park was full of wild beasts which Cyrus hunted for the exercise of himself and his horses; that the Marsyas rose in a cavern, where Apollo hung up the skin of Marsyas; and that the breadth of the Marsyas was 25 feet.

* Ἀλέξανδρος .... ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαινὰς πεμπταῖος. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν πάντη ἀπότομος. Alexander gladly came to terms with the people on account of the strength of the citadel. (ἄπορον πάντη προσφέρεσθαι τὴν ἄκραν.) Arrian, l. 1. c. 29.

Alexander .... ad urbem Celænas exercitum admovit. Mediam illa tempestate interfluebat Marsyas amnis..... Fons ejus ex summo montis cacumine excurrens in subjectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit ..... Alexander .... arcem oppugnare adortus caduceatorem præmisit .... illi caduceatorem in turrim et situ et opere multum editam perductum, quanta esset altitudo intueri jubent, &c. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 1.

† .... ἐς Κελαινάς· ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδοῦσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὔνομα τυγχάνει ἐὸν Καταῤῥήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων, ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ. Herod. l. 7. c. 26.

‡ Ἵδρυται δὲ ἡ Ἀπάμεια ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου πο-

mountain above Celænæ was the reputed source both of the Marsyas, which rose in the ancient city, and of the Mæander. Comparing these authorities with Livy *, who probably copied his account from Polybius, with Pliny †, with Maxi-

ταμοῦ· καὶ ῥεῖ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ὁ ποταμὸς, τὰς ἄρχας ἀπὸ τῆς (παλαιᾶς) πόλεως ἔχων· κατενεχθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον σφοδρῷ καὶ κατωφερεῖ τῷ ῥεύματι, συμβάλλει πρὸς τὸν Μαίανδρον, προσειληφότα καὶ ἄλλον ποταμὸν Ὀργᾶν, δι' ὁμαλοῦ φερόμενον πρᾶον καὶ μαλακόν· ..... Ἄρχεται δὲ (ὁ Μαίανδρος) ἀπὸ Κελαινῶν, λόφου τινὸς ἐν ᾧ πόλις ἦν ὁμώνυμος τῷ λόφῳ. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναστήσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἀπάμειαν, &c.——— Ὑπέρκειται δὲ καὶ λίμνη φύουσα κάλαμον, τὸν εἰς τὰς γλώττας τῶν αὐλῶν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐξ ἧς ἀπολείβεσθαί φασι τὰς πηγὰς ἀμφοτέρας, τήν τε τοῦ Μαρσύου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μαιάνδρου. Strabo, p. 578.

* Consul (Cn. Manlius) .... ad Antiochiam super Mæandrum amnem posuit castra. Hujus amnis fontes Celænis oriuntur. Celænæ urbs caput quondam Phrygiæ fuit: migratum inde haud procul veteribus Celænis, novæque urbi Apameæ nomen inditum ..... Et Marsyas amnis, haud procul a Mæandri fontibus oriens, in Mæandrum cadit. Famaque ita tenet Celænis Marsyam cum Apolline tibiarum cantu certasse. Mæander, ex arce summa Celænarum ortus, media urbe decurrens, per Caras primum, deinde Ionas, in sinum maris editur, qui inter Prienen et Miletum est. Liv. l. 38. c 38.

† Tertius (Asiæ Conventus) Apamiam vadit, ante appellatam Celænas, dein Ciboton. Sita est in radice Montis Signiæ, circumfusis Marsya, Obrima, Orga fluminibus in Mæandrum cadentibus. Marsyas ibi redditur ortus ac paullo mox conditus; ubi certavit tibiarum cantu cum Apolline, Aulocrenis ita vocatur, convallis decem millia passuum ab Apamia Phrygiam petentibus. * * * * Amnis Mæander ortus e lacu in monte Aulocrene .... Apamenam primum pervagatur regionem mox Eumeniticam, &c. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.

mus Tyrius *, and with the existing coins of Apameia †, it may be inferred that a lake or pool on the summit of a mountain which rose above Celænæ, and which was called Celænæ or Signia, was the reputed source of the Marsyas and Mæander; but that in fact the two rivers issued from different parts of the mountain below the lake: that the lake was named Aulocrene, as producing reeds well

* Φρύγες οἱ περὶ Κελαινὰς νεμόμενοι τιμῶσι ποταμοὺς δύο, Μαρσύαν καὶ Μαίανδρον. εἶδον τοὺς ποταμούς. ἀφίησιν αὐτοὺς πηγὴ μία, ἣ προελθοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ νώτου τῆς πόλεως καὶ δὶς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, διελοῦσα τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Λυδίας ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ πεδία ἀναλίσκεται. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 8. c. 8.

He then proceeds to relate a tale resembling that which Strabo has told us of the Alpheius and Eurotas, and which shews that the sources of the Mæander and Marsyas were exactly circumstanced as those of the two Peloponnesian rivers, described by Pausanias (Arcad. c. 43.) and Strabo (p. 343), and the accuracy of whose description I have myself ascertained. Those celebrated streams issue from separate sources at the foot of a mountain, behind which, in the elevated plain of Asea, is a rivulet, which, after crossing that plain, runs through a small lake into the mountain. This rivulet was anciently reputed to be the common origin of the two rivers; and it was believed (but apparently not by Strabo himself), that if offerings to the two river-gods were thrown into this stream, each offering would re-appear at the source of the river for the god of which it was destined by the sacrificer. Maximus Tyrius improves upon the similar story relating to the Mæander, by adding, that if a joint offering was thrown in for both the gods, it was divided in its passage through the mountain, and a portion appeared at each of the lower sources.

† See Eckhel and Mionnet in Phrygia.

adapted for flutes, and that it gave the name of Aulocrenis to a valley extending for ten miles from the lake to the eastward: that the source of the Marsyas was in a cavern on the side of the mountain in the ancient agora of Celænæ: that the Marsyas and Mæander, both of which flowed through Celænæ, united a little below the ancient site: that to this junction the city was removed by Antiochus Soter, son of Seleucus Nicator, when he gave it a new name after his mother Apama; and that the united stream was soon afterwards joined by the Orgas and the Obrimas. Whether these inferences drawn from the ancient authors are correct, will be decided by the future traveller. He may also ascertain whether there are any volcanic rocks, the burnt appearance of which will justify the etymologist* who ascribed to that cause the origin of the word Celænæ; or he may discover the valley of Aulocrenis, the scene of the celebrated contest of Apollo with Marsyas, whose skin was still shown in the time of Herodotus, in the acropolis of Celænæ †.

* Strabo, p. 579.

† M. Barbié du Bocage, in his notes to the French translation of Chandler, thinks that the words of Pliny cited above, warrant the supposition that Apameia was ten miles distant from the site of Celænæ. I cannot perceive any such meaning in them: on the contrary, I think it clearly appears from Strabo, that both the rivers ran through Celænæ, and that they united in the suburb, which afterwards became the new city Apameia. The removal of Grecian cities, from the strong positions of the an-

I have been thus particular in laying before the reader the ancient evidences on the site of Apameia, because it is a point of great importance to the ancient geography of the western part of Asia Minor,—not less so than Tyana is to the eastern: and because in regard to both these places, I have the misfortune to differ from the author in whose opinion the public is justly in the habit of placing the highest confidence*.

The Roman road from Apameia to Antiocheia of Pisidia passed through Apollonia, otherwise called Mordiæum †, which was 24 M.P. distant from the former, and 45 from the latter. Although on account of our ignorance of the site of Antiocheia, no exact comparison can be instituted between the amount of the two numbers just mentioned and the actual distance on the map, it is manifestly not very erroneous; and the position of Apollonia therefore was probably at no great distance from a town called Ketsibúrlu, which

cient independent republics, to neighbouring situations more commodious but less defensible, was a common occurrence on the decline of the republican system in Greece, and on the prevalence of monarchy; and it was a natural consequence of that change of system. The removal was generally attended with a change of name, which flattered the Macedonian or Roman prince under whom the removal took place. It often occurred, also, that a new name was given upon the mere occasion of a repair, when there was no change of situation.

* See Rennell's Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus.

† Stephan. in Ἀπολλωνία.

General Koehler passed through between Burdur and Dombai, and which according to Abubekr Ben Behren is a kadilik of Hamed, of which Isbárta is the chief city. Ptolemy places Apollonia near Antiocheia; and its situation, between that city and Apameia, which the Table gives, is in exact conformity with Strabo's description of the conquests of Amyntas. Having taken Derbe, and received Isauria from the Romans, he made himself master of Antiocheia, and the country as far as the district of Apollonia, near Apameia Cibotus *, together with Lycaonia and some part of Phrygia Paroreius. He took Cremna, but did not venture on attacking Sandalium: and after capturing the greater part of the places belonging to the Homonadenses, (whose tyrant he slew,) he was himself destroyed by a stratagem of the wife of the latter. Sulpicius Quirinius and the Romans afterwards reduced Homona:—all the late territories of Amyntas were then placed under the government of a præfect †.

3. The ancient road from Apameia to Synnada must have crossed that of Gen. Koehler at or near Sandukli, on the river now called the Mendere (Mæander), but which anciently, I suppose to have been the Obrimas, a branch of the Mæander. The total distance of 73 Roman miles on this road agrees

* Τὴν γὰρ Ἀντιόχειαν ἔχων τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι Ἀπολλωνιάδος, τῆς πρὸς Ἀπαμείᾳ τῇ Κιβωτῷ &c. Strabo, p. 569.

† Strabo, ibid.—Tacit. Ann. l. 3. c. 48.

tolerably with the 66 geographical miles in direct distance, which the map gives between the assumed site of Synnada and that of Apameia at Dinglar. Euphorbium, the only place on the road mentioned in the Table, and which was midway between the two extremes, will fall at Sandukli. Euphorbium is noticed as a town in this part of Asia by Pliny only, who tells us that its people formed,—together with those of Metropolis, Peltæ, Acmonia and some other towns,—the *conventus* held under the Romans at Apameia *.

4. The fourth Roman road which crossed the modern route from Adália to Shughut, is that marked in the Table from Dorylæum to Apameia Cibotus, leading through Nacoleia, Conni, Eucarpia, and Eumenia †. Although the total distance of 148 M. P. on this road sufficiently agrees with the 100 G. M. in direct distance on the map, it must be confessed that the 26 Roman miles and the 15 geographical miles of direct distance, between Eumeneia at Ishékle and Apa-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29. Similar assemblies were held at Cibyra, Synnada, Laodiceia ad Lycum, Alabanda, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardes, Adramyttium, and Pergamum.

† Between Eumenia and the number which marks the miles from thence to *ad vicum*, which seems to have been a small place between Eumenia and Apameia,—occurs the word Pella. I am quite unable to explain what this means. I thought at first it was a mistake for Peltæ, an important town situated in this part of Phrygia; but it is impossible to find room for Peltæ and the great Peltene plain between Ishékle and Dinglar.

meia at Dinglar, do not bear the same proportion as the Roman and geographical numbers on the whole line; and that, if I am right in the position of Nacoleia, the 20 M. P. of the Table, between Dorylæum and Nacoleia, errs almost as much in defect, as the 26 M. P. between Eumeneia and Apameia does in excess. But it is in vain that we look for much accuracy of detail in the Table. The positions of Nacoleia and Eumeneia rest upon very satisfactory grounds. All that remains to be done, therefore, is to arrange Conni and Eucarpia between Doganlu and Ishékle, at the proportional distances of the numbers in the Table. This will place Conni not far to the southward of Altun Tash, near where the roads to Altun Tash, both from Karahissár and from Sandukli, cross the ancient road; a position which agrees with that of Conna in Ptolemy *, according to whom it appears to have been not far from Cotyaeium, to the southward. Under the Byzantine emperors, Conna (then called Cone †) was a bishopric of the province of Phrygia Salutaris, of which Synnada was the metropolis.

Eucarpia was another bishopric of the same province. Its name was derived from the fertility of the soil ‡, which by attaching the people to agriculture may have contrasted them with those of the neighbouring Euphorbium, celebrated probably for

* Ptolemy, l. 5. c. 2. † Notit. Episc. Græc.

‡ Stephan. de Urb. in *Εὐκαρπία.*

its flocks and pasture. The position of Eucarpia in the Table agrees with that which Ptolemy gives it to the southward of Conna.

5. The fifth and last of the ancient roads intersected by the modern road from Adália to Shughut was from Dorylæum to Philadelpheia: its two extremities are known points; its length in direct distance is equal to two degrees of latitude, or 120 G. M., which corresponds with as much accuracy as one can expect to the 155 M. P. of the Table. The *line*, as will be seen on referring to the map, leads directly through Kutáya. We cannot doubt therefore that *Cocleo*, the first name occurring on this road in the Table, is an error for Cotyaeio; especially as the distance of 30 M. P. answers very well to the real distance from Eski-shehr to Kutáya. The distance of 35 M. P. between Cotyaeium and Acmonia furnishes the traveller with a good approximation for discovering the site of the latter city, which is mentioned in one of the Orations of Cicero*, and which was one of the towns of the conventus of Apameia, and afterwards a bishopric under the metropolitan of Laodiceia. It is difficult to reconcile the position of Aludda, 25 miles beyond Acmonia on the road to Philadelpheia, with that which may be inferred from Ptolemy, who names Alydda among the towns of the greater Mysia, together with Pergamum and Apollonia on the Rhyn-

* Cicero pro Flacco, c. 15.

dacus. Clanudda I suspect to be an erroneous writing; but its correction I am unable to discover.

It is in the unexplored part of Phrygia Epictetus*, lying between the Thymbres and the branches of the Rhyndacus on the southern side of the Olympene mountains, that the future traveller will seek for the Phrygian cities of Cadi, Azani, and Synaus. One is much disposed at first sight to consider the remarkable position of Inóghi, which General Koehler passed through in his way from Kutáya to Shughut, to have been the site of one of these cities of Phrygia Epictetus; but upon further examination, they all appear to have been situated considerably to the westward of this position. The Azanitis, or district of Azani, contained the sources of the river Rhyndacus, which, after passing through the lake of Apollonia, joined the Propontis opposite the island of Besbicus, having first received the united waters of several streams from Mysia Abrettena, particularly the Mecistus, which flowed from Ancyra Abassitis, a Phrygian town on the frontier of Lydia†. Synaus appears to have

* It was also called Hellespontine Phrygia, although totally divided from the Hellespont by Mysia. Hence it would seem that the part of Mysia lying between mount Olympus and the Caicus was included at one time in the district of Hellespontus; which at that time extended from the Hellespont to the Thymbres.

† Strabo, p. 576.

been near this Ancyra; for in the acts of one of the Councils, a bishop of the Phrygian Ancyra signs himself Αγκύρας Συνάου, no doubt in order to distinguish this Ancyra from the Galatian. Cadi also may be presumed to have been to the westward of the meridian of Inóghi and Kutáya; for we find that Cadi is assigned by some authors to Mysia*. It is precisely in the situation, which may be inferred from this circumstance, combined with what has been said of the position of Synaus and Azani,—that is to say, between the Thymbres and the sources of the Rhyndacus,—that we find a town of the name of Kodús, which has not been visited by any modern traveller, but which is briefly described by Hadji Khalfa—as situated on the banks of a river, in a plain surrounded by mountains. He adds that the river, which bears the same name as the town, descends from Mount Morad, and passes by Magnesia into the Gulf of Smyrna. We know from modern travellers, that this river, which is the ancient Hermus, is still called Kodús or Ghedís in all the lower part of its course; and Kodús, it can hardly be doubted, is the same place as Καδοί, the name of which the Turks received from the Greeks, in the usual Romaic form of the accusative case Καδούς.

* Strabo ibid. See Note †, p. 145.—Ptolemy ascribes Cadi and two other towns to the Erizeli, a people of Mæonia, on the borders of Mysia, Lydia and Phrygia.

In exploring the equally unknown country which extends to the southward of this part of Phrygia Epictetus, towards the mountains Messogis and Tmolus, and which formed the frontier of Lydia and Great Phrygia, the traveller may derive assistance from a passage in Strabo *, where he enumerates the principal plains in their order from west to east. Adjacent to the Caystrian, which lay between Tmolus and Messogis, was the Cilbian, then the Hyrcanian, the plain of Cyrus, the Peltene, the Cillanian, and the Tabene. It cannot be doubted that a journey through these plains would lead to a knowledge of the general distribution of the geography of the country, as well as to that of the sites of some of the towns which gave name to the several plains. Peltæ, Lysias, and Silbium appear to have been in the country northward of the upper Mæander, which is traversed by the caravan route from Smyrna to Tokát: but the few names and distances which Tavernier and Seetzen have left us between Alláh-Shehr and Karahissár, throw no light whatever upon ancient geography.

* Strabo, p. 629.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ANCIENT PLACES ON THE SOUTHERN COAST OF ASIA MINOR.

ALTHOUGH the *Karamania* of Captain Beaufort has anticipated all that is most interesting in regard to the southern coast, the publication which has recently been made of his minute and accurate delineation of this coast, induces me to enter into an examination of its ancient geography at greater length than was consistent with the plan of the *Karamania:* for poor and deserted as this country now is, the numerous remains of antiquity which it possesses, attest that it was formerly one of the most populous and flourishing regions of the ancient world. It is remarkable that in Strabo, and in the anonymous Periplus, entitled the Stadiasmus of the Sea (σταδιασμὸς τῆς θαλάσσης), a fragment of which is preserved in the Madrid library, we have a more ample description of this coast than of any other that has been distinguished by Grecian civilization: and thus at the same time that history has preserved an abundance of information concerning its ancient places, the survey of Capt. Beaufort furnishes us with a most correct representation of its real topography.

The most convenient mode of putting the reader in possession of the ancient authorities on the sea coast of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, in order that he may compare them with the actual delineation, will be to give a translation of its description by Strabo, subjoining in the notes the collateral information of other ancient authors, together with a few remarks suggested by a comparison of them. The passages of the Stadiasmus I shall cite at length in the original language, because they are found only in a scarce work. So minute is the description which this coasting pilot has given, that nothing short of the detailed accuracy of Captain Beaufort's survey could have been sufficient to explain it, or to detect and rectify the numerous errors which have been left in it by the negligence and ignorance of the copier *.

As Captain Beaufort's survey begins at the gulf anciently called Glaucus, and now the gulf of Mákri, I shall also begin the extract from Strabo † at the same point, omitting all the passages which do not assist in elucidating the geography.

* The survey having been reduced to a tenth of Captain Beaufort's scale in the map which accompanies the present volume, the latter may in some instances, perhaps, be found inadequate to illustrate the geographical remarks in the following chapter; which were constantly made with a reference to the survey itself. In all such difficulties, which it is hoped will not be found numerous, the reader is necessarily referred to the original authority.

† Strabo, p. 664.

" Beyond Dædala, which is the last place in Peræa of the Rhodii (1), is a mountain of the same name, from whence begins the coast of Lycia, which is 1720 stades in circum-navigation, rugged and dangerous, but provided with good harbours. . . . Near Dædala, a mountain of the Lycii, is Telmissus, a small city of the Lycii, and Cape Telmissis with a harbour. Next is Anticragus, a very steep mountain, under which is Carmylessus, situated in a narrow valley: beyond it is Cragus, which has eight capes and a city of the same name. It is to these mountains that the fables related of the Chimæra are applied, and in the vicinity there is a ravine called Chimæra opening to the sea. Under Mount Cragus in the interior is Pinara, one of the largest cities in Lycia. Then occurs the river Xanthus, formerly called Sirbe. It may be ascended in small boats to the temple of Latona, which is situated ten stades above its mouth: sixty stades above the temple is the city of the Xanthii, the greatest in Lycia (2). Beyond the Xanthus is Patara, also a great city, and having a port and a temple of Apollo, founded by Patarus (3). . . . . Then occurs Myra (4), situated twenty stades above the sea on a commanding hill; then the mouth of the river Limyrus; and twenty stades inland from it, the small town of Limyra. On the coast just mentioned are many harbours and islands: of the latter, the largest is called Cisthene (5), and has a town of the same

name. In the interior are Phellus, Antiphellus (6), and Chimæra, of which last we have already spoken. Beyond the mouth of the Limyrus is the Sacred Promontory (7), and the three rugged islands called the Chelidoniæ, equal in size, and distant from each other about five stades, and from the continent six stades; one of them has an anchorage. From hence it is generally thought that Mount Taurus has its beginning. * * * But in truth the mountains are uninterrupted from Peræa of the Rhodii, as far as the parts about Pisidia; and the whole of this range also bears the name of Taurus. * * * From the Sacred Promontory to Olbia there is a distance of 367 stades (8), in which space occurs Crambusa (9) and Olympus: the latter is a large city, and has a mountain of the same name, which is also called Phœnicus (10); next to it is the coast named Corycus (11); and then Phaselis, a large city with three harbours and a lake. Above Phaselis is Mount Solyma. Termessus, a Pisidian city, is situated at the straits of Mount Solyma, where is the ascent into Milyas. Alexander destroyed Termessus, because he was desirous of opening those passes. Near Phaselis is the defile on the sea-shore through which Alexander led his army. The mountain is called Climax; it borders upon the Pamphylian sea, leaving a narrow passage along the shore, which, when the sea is calm, is dry and practicable to travellers, but when swollen, is, for the most part, covered by the waves.

The road over the mountain is circuitous and difficult, for which reason the passage along the shore is preferred in fair weather. Alexander happening to be here in the winter season, and trusting to fortune, attempted to pass before the waves had subsided; the soldiers in consequence had to march the whole day up to the middle in water (12). Phaselis is a city of Lycia on the confines of Pamphylia; it does not, however, belong to the community of the Lycians, but has a separate government of its own. In like manner Homer considers the Solymi as separate from the Lycians. * * * Next to Phaselis is Olbia (13), a great fortress, and the beginning of Pamphylia; then the Catarrhactes, a large and rapid river, which falls from a lofty rock, with a sound heard at a great distance (14). Next is the city Attaleia, so named from its founder Attalus Philadelphus, who having also introduced a colony into the neighbouring town of Corycus, comprehended them within a wall, which inclosed a space of ground of no great extent (15). It is said that Thebe and Lyrnessus* are to be seen between Phaselis and Attaleia; for Callisthenes informs us that a part of the Cilices of Troas being driven out of the plain of Thebe, came into Pamphylia. Next is the river Cestrus (16), navigable for sixty stades to Perge; near Perge, in a lofty situation, is the

* Strabo here means to allude to the mention of these two places by Homer.

temple of Diana Pergæa, where a religious assembly is held every year. Then, at a distance of forty stades from the sea, is a lofty city, conspicuous from Perge; then a lake of considerable size, called Capria; and next the river Eurymedon; and a navigable ascent of sixty stades to the populous city of Aspendus, which was a colony from Argus. Higher up lies Pednelissus. Beyond (the Eurymedon) is another river, with many small islands lying before it (17). Then occurs Side (18), a colony from Cyme, and having a temple of Minerva. Near it is the coast of the lesser Cibyra; then the river Melas (19), and a station for ships; and then the city Ptolemais (20), beyond which are the boundaries of Pamphylia and Coracesium, which is the beginning of Cilicia Tracheia. The whole circumnavigation of Pamphylia is 640 stades.

" Of Cilicia, beyond Taurus, a part is called Tracheia (rugged), and a part Pedias (plain). Of the rugged, the maritime part is narrow, and has very little or no level country; the part which the Taurus overhangs is equally mountainous, and is thinly inhabited as far as the northern flanks near Isaura, and the Homonadenses, and as far as Pisidia. Hence the country is called Tracheiotis, and the inhabitants Tracheiotæ. Cilicia Pedias extends from Soli and Tarsus as far as Issus; and includes all the country as far as the part of Cappadocia which is adjacent to the northern flank of Taurus.

This division of Cilicia consists for the most part of plains, and a fertile land.

Having spoken of the parts (of Cilicia) within Taurus *, we shall now proceed to speak of those without Taurus, beginning with Tracheiotis. The first fortress of the Cilicians is Coracesium, built upon a precipitous rock (21). Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, made use of it as an arsenal, when, with varying success, he headed an insurrection of Syria against its kings, and at length was forced to put an end to his own life, upon being blockaded in a certain fortress by Antiochus the son of Demetrius. Tryphon set the example of piracy to the Cilicians, &c.

"After Coracesium is Syedra (22), then Hamaxia (23), a small inhabited place upon a rock, with a station for vessels below it, to which ship-timber is brought down from the mountains. This consists chiefly of cedar, a wood apparently very abundant in these parts; for which reason Antonius gave this region to Cleopatra, as being well suited for fitting out her fleets. Next occurs Laertes (24), a fortress situated upon a hill shaped like a woman's breast, and having an anchorage below it; then the river Selinus; then Cragus, a rock rising from the sea, and precipitous on every side; and then the castle of Charadrus, which has an anchorage below it.

* See Strabo, p. 533 et seq. and page 64 of this volume.

The mountain Andriclus rises above Charadrus, beyond which is a rugged shore called Platanistus, and the promontory Anemurium. Here the continent lies nearest to the coast of Cyprus, at the promontory Crommyon, the distance being 350 stades. From the frontier of Pamphylia to Anemurium, the length of the coast of Cilicia is 820 stades; the remainder, as far as Soli, is 500 stades (25). In this space Nagidus (26) is the first city which occurs after Anemurium; then Arsinoe (27), having a station for ships before it; then the place called Melania, and Celenderis, a city with a harbour (28). Some consider this place, and not Coracesium, as the beginning of Cilicia. * * * Next occurs Holmi, where the people of Seleuceia first dwelt, but who after the erection of Seleuceia upon the Calycadnus emigrated to that place. Immediately after turning the shore which forms a promontory, called Sarpedon, is the mouth of the Calycadnus; near the Calycadnus is Zephyrium, also a promontory; the river is navigable up to Seleuceia, which is a populous city (29). * * * Beyond the Calycadnus is the rock Pœcile (30), cut into steps leading to Seleuceia. Then occurs Anemurium, a cape, of the same name as the former, and the island Crambusa, and the promontory Corycus (31), 20 stades above which is the Corycian cave. * * * Next to Corycus is Elæussa, an island near the shore (32). The town was founded by Archelaus,

and became his residence when he took all Cilicia Tracheia, except Seleuceia, in the same manner as Amyntas had it before him, and still earlier Cleopatra. * * * The boundary of Cilicia Tracheia is between Soli and Elæussa, at the river Lamus, where is a town of the same name. * * * Beyond Lamus is the important city of Soli, the beginning of Cilicia Issensis: it was founded by the Achæans, and the Rhodii of Lindus. To this place, being in a deserted state, Pompey the Great removed such of the pirates as he thought most worthy of clemency and protection, and named the place Pompeiopolis (33). * * * Next occurs Zephyrium, of the same name as that at the Calycadnus (34); then Anchiale, situated at a short distance from the shore (35). * * * Above it is the fortress Cyinda, where the Macedonians formerly kept their treasures, which Eumenes seized, rebelling against Antigonus. Above this place and Soli are mountainous districts, where is the city Olbe, with a temple of Jupiter, founded by Ajax the son of Teucer. * * * Next to Anchiale are the mouths of the Cydnus, near the place called Rhegma. This place, which resembles a lake, preserves some remains of the naval arsenal, which it formerly contained; it is now the port of Tarsus. The river Cydnus, which rises in the part of Mount Taurus above Tarsus, flows through the middle of that city, and into the lake (36). * * * Beyond the Cydnus is the Pyramus,

flowing from Cataonia (37). Artemidorus says that the distance from this river to Soli, in a direct line, is 500 stades. Near it is Mallus, situated upon a height; it was founded by Amphilochus and Mopsus, who, having slain one another in single combat, were buried so that the tomb of one should not be visible from that of the other:—the sepulchres are now shown near Magarsa and the Pyramus. * * * Above this coast is the plain called Aleium, through which Philotas led the cavalry of Alexander, while the king himself conducted the phalanx from Soli by the sea-coast and the Mallotis to Issus (38). * * * Beyond Mallus is the town Ægææ, which has an anchorage below it, and then the gates (Pylæ) Amanides. Here also is an anchorage; and here Mount Amanus terminates, which joins to Taurus, and bounds Cilicia on the East. Next to Ægææ is the small town of Issus, where the battle was fought between Alexander and Darius. The gulf is called Issic: in it are the towns Rhosus and Myriandrus, and Alexandreia, and Nicopolis, and Mopsuestia (39): and the gates (Pylæ) as they are called, which are the boundary of Cilicia and Syria."

NOTES.

(Note 1.) Peræa (from Πέρα) was the name of the coast of Caria opposite to Rhodus, which for several centuries formed a dependency of that opulent republic. In the time of Scylax, the Rhodii possessed only the peninsula immediately in face of their island. As a reward for their assistance in the Antiochian war, the Romans gave them a part of Lycia and all Caria as far as the Mæander. By having adopted a less prudent policy in the second Macedonic war, they lost it all, including Caunus, the chief town of Peræa. It was not long, however, before it was restored to them, together with the small islands near Rhodus; and from this time Peræa retained the limits which Strabo has described, namely, Dædala on the east, and Mount Loryma on the west, both included. Vespasian finally reduced Rhodus itself into the provincial form, and joined it to Caria. Liv. l. 38. c. 39.—l. 45. c. 20, 25. Cicero, Ep. ad Fratrem. l. 1. c. 1. Sueton. in Vespas. c. 8.

(2) The names and distances on this part of the coast, in the anonymous Periplus or Stadiasmus, which proceeds in a contrary direction to Strabo (or from east to west), are as follows:

Ἀπὸ Πατάρων ἐπὶ ποταμὸν πλωτὸν ὑπέρκειται πόλις Ξάνθος σταδ. ξ. (60.)
Ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ξάντου εἰς Πύδνας ἐπεὐθείας σταδ. ξ. (60.)
Ἀπὸ Πύδνων ἕως τῆς Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας σταδ. π. (80.)
Ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας εἰς Καλαῦαντίαν σταδ. λ. (30.)
Ἀπὸ Καλαῦαντίων εἰς Περδικίας σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Περδικίων εἰς Κισσίδας σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Κισσίδων εἰς νῆσον Λάγουσαν σταδ. π. (80.)
Ἀπὸ Λαγούσων εἰς Τελεμενσὸν σταδ. ε. (5.)

Here it may be observed, that, reckoning about ten stades to the geographical mile, the total coasting distance of 355 stades between Telmissus and the Xanthus is not incorrect when applied to the map; that the 140 stades from the Xanthus to Cape Hiera, carries us to the most projecting point of the Efta Kávi, or *Seven Capes*, as the *eight* promontories of

Mount Cragus mentioned by Strabo are now called; and that the 130 stades from Cape Hiera to Cissides, and the 85 stades from Cissides to Telmissus,—concur in showing that Cissides was the name of the peninsular promontory, on the south side of which is the island and harbour of St. Nicholas. As the ruins upon this cape and island, which I visited in coasting from Castel Rosso to Mákri, indicate a late period of the Roman Empire, it is probable that the town did not exist in the time of Strabo; for the position will not answer to that of Carmylessus, which, according to the Geographer, was in a φάραγξ, or narrow valley, of Mount Anticragus. The exact situation of Carmylessus, therefore, still remains unknown; as well as that of the cities of Cragus, of Pinara at the foot of Mount Cragus, and of Tlos at the passage of the mountains leading from the sea-coast into the Cibyratis *. According to Artemidorus,—Pinara, Tlos, Patara, Xanthus, Myra, and Olympus were the six great cities of Lycia: so that Telmissus, which is styled a πολίχνη, probably had not in the time of Artemidorus reached that importance which its theatre shows that it afterwards enjoyed. The ruins remarked by Captain Beaufort under Mount Cragus, at the northern extremity of the sandy beach which extends to the river Xanthus, seem to answer to the Pydnæ of the Stadiasmus: it is perhaps the same as the Cydna, which Ptolemy places among the cities of Mount Cragus.

(3) The port of Patara, which was too small to contain the allied fleet of the Romans, Rhodii, and other Greek states under the command of L. Æmilius Regillus in the Antiochian war †, is now entirely choked up by encroaching sands. The ruins of the city are extensive; consisting of the town-walls, and of numerous sepulchres on the outside; and within, of the remains of several public buildings. Among these is a theatre, in good preservation, and nearly of the same size as that of Telmissus; it is 295 feet in diameter, with thirty-four rows of seats,

* .... Τλῶν, κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τὴν εἰς Κίβυραν κειμένην. Artemid. ap. Strab. p. 665.

† Liv. l. 37. c. 17.

and a proscenium, upon which a long inscription shows that the theatre was built by Q. Velius Titianus, and dedicated by his daughter Velia Procla, in the fourth consulate of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 145). Appian remarks, that Patara was like a port to Xanthus; which city appears from Strabo and the Stadiasmus to have been on the banks of the river Xanthus, eight or nine miles above Patara. Ruins are known to exist in this situation, but they have not yet been described by any modern traveller. According to Arrian *, it seems to have been on the left bank of the river; for Alexander crossed the river Xanthus from Telmissus, before he took the cities Pinara, Xanthus, and Patara. Hence, also, we have some light on the site of Pinara.

(4) Myra still preserves its ancient name, together with the ruins of a theatre 355 feet in diameter; the remains of several public buildings, and numerous inscribed sepulchres, on some of which are the Lycian characters, found also at Limyra, Telmissus, and Cyana. The distance of the ruins of Myra from the sea corresponds very accurately with the twenty stades of Strabo.

Andriace, described as the port of Myra by Appian †, and which is named also by Pliny and Ptolemy, is still called Andráki. On the banks of the river by which Lentulus ascended to Myra, after breaking the chain which closed the port, are the ruins of a large building, which appears by an inscription to have been a granary of Hadrian. Here are also several other remains of antiquity.

(5) There is no variation in the MSS. of Strabo in this place, and Isocrates also names Κισθήνη in a manner which leads one to believe that he is speaking of a place on this coast ‡. Later writers, however, make no mention of Cisthene; and Ptolemy §, Pliny ||, and Stephanus ¶, agree in showing that Megiste and Dolichiste were the two principal

* Arrian. de Exp. Alex. l. 1. c. 24.
† Appian. Bel. Civ. l. 4. c. 82.
‡ Panegyr. §. 41.
§ Ptol. l. 5. c. 3.
|| Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 31
¶ Stephan. in Δολιχίστη et Μεγίστη.

islands on the coast of Lycia: the former word *(greatest)* well describing the island of Kastelóryzo, or Castel Rosso, as the latter word (*longest*) does that of Kákava. Nor is Scylax less precise in pointing out Kastelóryzo as Megiste; which name is found in an inscription copied by Mr. Cockerell from a rock at Castel Rosso *. It would seem, therefore, that this island was anciently known by both names (Megiste and Cisthene), but in later times perhaps chiefly by that of Megiste. Its convenience to maritime war and commerce must have secured its importance in every age; whence its mention in the narrative, by Livy †, of the transactions of the Rhodian fleet against Antiochus, would alone perhaps have been sufficient, without other evidence, to identify Castel Rosso with Megiste, although the historian describes Megiste as a port only, not as an island. The anonymous Periplus, or Stadiasmus, has accurately enumerated the islands between Antiphellus and Patara, in the passage cited in a following Note. His Rhope and islands of Xenagoras are evidently the Rhoge and Enagora of Pliny. Rhoge is now called St. George. The two islands of Xenagoras, now named Volo and O'khendra, are situated at the mouth of the bay of Kalamáki; the situation of which harbour, two miles eastward of the ruins of Patara, accords, no less than its steep rocky shore, with the description of Port Phœnicus, from whence, in the course of the operations against Antiochus, C. Livius made an unsuccessful attempt upon Patara ‡.

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* With a little correction it was as follows; but the beginning of the third line still wants explanation:

ΣΩΣΙΚΛΗΣ ΝΙΚΑΡΟΤΑ
ΣΑΜΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΣ
ΕΝΤΕΚΑΣΤΑΒΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ
ΤΟΥ ΠΥΡΓΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΜΕ-
-ΓΙΣΤΑΙ ΕΡΜΑΙ ΠΡΟΠΥ-
-ΛΑΙΩΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

The Doric dialect may be accounted for by Megiste being in possession, and probably a colony, of the Rhodii. I found the ruins of a Hellenic tower here, at the end of a small plain: perhaps the tower mentioned in the inscription.

† Liv. l. 37. c. 22, 24, 25.

‡ Liv. l. 37. c. 16.

(6) Strabo is inaccurate in placing Antiphellus among the inland towns, *ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ*, in contradiction to Ptolemy, Pliny, and the author of the Stadiasmus. There can be no doubt of the ruins on the coast opposite to Castel Rosso being those of Antiphellus: the ancient name is still preserved in the corrupted form of Andífilo; at which place I distinguished on many of the ancient tombs the word *Ἀντιφελλείτης*, which is found to be the ethnic adjective in Stephanus of Byzantium.

(7) The name of the Chelidoniæ insulæ has been transferred to Cape Hiera, or the Sacred Promontory, which is now called Cape Khelidhóni. The following is the description of the coast between Patara and the Sacred Promontory in the Stadiasmus, which, as I have already observed, travels in an opposite direction to Strabo, or from east to west:—

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας ἐν Μελανίππῃ σταδ. λ. (30.)
Ἀπὸ δὲ Μελανίππης εἰς Γάγας σταδ. ξ. (60.)
Ἀπὸ δὲ Μελανίππης ἐπὶ Ταμὸν (leg. ποταμὸν) ἁλμυρὸν σταδ. ξ. (60.) ὑπὲρ σταδ. ξ. (60.) κεῖται πόλις Ἁλμυρὰ καλουμένη.
Ἀπὸ Μελανίππης (τοῦ Λιμύρου?) εἰς πύργον τὸ Ἴσιον καλούμενον σταδ. ξ. (60.)
Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσίου πύργου εἰς Ἀδριακὴν σταδ. ξ. (60.)
Ἀπὸ Ἀδριακῆς εἰς Σόμηναν σταδ. δ. (4.)
Ἀπὸ Σόμηναν εἰς Ἀπέρλας σταδ. ξ. (60.)
Ἀπὸ Ἀκρωτηρίου εἰς Ἀντίφελλον σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Ἀντιφέλλου εἰς νῆσον Μεγίστην σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Μεγίστης εἰς νῆσον Ῥόπην σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Ῥόπης εἰς τοῦ Ξεναγόρου νήσους σταδ. τ. (300.)
Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ξεναγόρου νήσων εἰς Πάταραν σταδ. ξ. (60.)

The greater part of the distances towards the beginning of this extract are quite unintelligible. Melanippe, however, seems to accord with the bay on the north side of Cape Khelidhóni. This place may possibly have been the port of Gagæ, which was a city of some celebrity *, and appears from Scylax to have been near the coast, between Limyra and the Chelidoniæ. Being also named by Pliny † as near Olympus and

* Stephan. Byzant. with the Notes of Holstein.

† Oppidum Olympus ubi fuit, nunc sunt montana: Gage, Cory-

Corydalla,—which last place, according to the Peutinger Table, was 29 miles from Phaselis on the road to Patara,—the site of Gagæ will accord very well with the ruins marked in Captain Beaufort's survey at Aladjá, five miles from the centre of the Bay of Fínika. Following the same direction into the interior, we ought to meet with the remains of Corydalla, coins of which city are still extant. Rhodiopolis, also, called Rhodia by Stephanus and Ptolemy, which Pliny names next to Corydalla, and which Ptolemy enumerates together with Corydalla, among the cities adjacent to Mount Masicytus,—would also probably be found in the neighbouring part of the interior of Lycia*. And here it may be observed, that the position of several of the towns which Ptolemy enumerates around Mount Masicytus†, are now determined with a degree of accuracy sufficient at least to show the situation and extent of that mountain, a very lofty projection of which separates the bays of Fínika and Myra, under the name of Cape Fínika.

Following the Stadiasmus to the westward, we cannot doubt that his river Almyrus is a corruption of Limyrus, mentioned, together with the town of Limyra, by Pliny and Stephanus, as well as by Strabo. The remains of Limyra are found at Fínika, on the river which enters the bay of Fínika at its western an-

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dalla, Rhodiopolis. Juxta mare Limyra cum amne, in quem Arycandus influit, et Mons Massycites, Andriaca, civitas Myra. Oppida Apyre, Antiphellus, quæ quondam Habessus (*al.* Edebessus) atque in recessu Phellus. Deinde Pyrrha itemque Xanthus a mari xv. M. P. flumenque eodem nomine. Deinde Patara, &c. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 27.

* The following fragment in honour of a person who had received the rites of citizenship in Rhodiopolis, Myra, and Phaselis, was found by Mr. Cockerell in the ruins of Olympus at Deliktash.

ΟΠΡΑΜΟΑΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΔΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΟΥ ΡΟΔΙΟ
ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΕΑ (*καὶ*)
ΦΑΣΗΛΕΙΤΗΝ .....
.....

† The following are the names in their order:—Corydalla, Sagalassus, Rhodia, Trebenda (*al.* Arendæ), Phellus, Myra.

gle: not, however, at a distance of sixty stades from the river's mouth, as the Stadiasmus indicates, but, as Strabo remarks, at twenty. Some of the curious sepulchres inscribed in the Lycian character and dialect, which Mr. Cockerell found here, have been published by him in the 2d volume of Walpole's Collection (p. 524). A stream which joins the sea close to the mouth of the Limyrus, seems to be the Arycandus of Pliny *, which name we learn to have been that of a Lycian city, from Hierocles, from Stephanus, and from the Scholiast of Pindar †, who speaks also of a sacred place called Embolus in its vicinity. That Arycanda was in this part of the country, might be presumed likewise from an inscription found by Mr. Cockerell ‡ at Limyra, in honour of a person who had acquired the rites of citizenship at Arycanda and Olympus. Some vestiges of Arycanda, therefore, might possibly be found on the banks of the river above mentioned. I am inclined to think that the name of a town near Mount Masicytus, which in some of the copies of Ptolemy is Τριξένδα, and in others Ἀρένδαι, ought to be Ἀρυκάνδαι. Pliny places Arycanda (perhaps improperly) in Milyas.

In Captain Beaufort's survey, we find the beach of Myra bounded to the west by a small rocky cape, called Py'rgo. This seems to be the tower named Isium (εἰς Πύργον τὸ Ἴσιον καλούμενον) in the Stadiasmus; though in arriving at that conjecture we must overlook the distance from Andriace there stated. As to the distance of the same tower from Melanippe, I take that word to have been a mistake of the copier of the Stadiasmus for Limyrus: the repetition of Melanippe a second time was necessary, because Gagæ being an inland place, the Periplus was obliged to revert to Melanippe: and this second

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* Limyra cum amne, in quem Arycandus influit. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.

† ....ἐν Λυκίᾳ δέ ἐστιν πόλις Ἀρύκανδα καλουμένη, ἧς πλησίον ἱερόν τι χωρίον, ὃ πρότερον μὲν Ἔμβολος ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ χωρίου. Schol. in Pindar. Olymp. Od. 7.

‡ Μ ΑΥΡ ΤΟΑΛΙΣ ΔΙΣ ΟΛΥΜ
ΠΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΥΚΑΝΔΕΥΣ

repetition may have led to an erroneous repetition a third time; for it is to be observed that the total distance from Cape Hiera to Andriace *minus* that from Melanippe to Gagæ is correct. And so is the distance (120 stades) from Limyrus to Andriace, assuming the correction which I have mentioned.

To the westward of Andriace we have two ancient sites determined by inscribed sepulchres, which record the name of the city, and the inscriptions upon which have been copied by Mr. Cockerell:—that of Cyana, or the city τῶν ΚΥΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ, at the head of Port Trístomo, as the inner part of the bay behind the island of Kákava, is now called ——; and that of Aperlæ, or the city τῶν ΑΠΕΡΑΕΙΤΩΝ at the head of Assar Bay. In our copies of Pliny, the former name is written Cyane; in Hierocles and the Notitiæ Episcopatuum it is Cyaneæ. The Stadiasmus has omitted it, probably because it is at a considerable distance from the open sea. Aperlæ is erroneously written by Ptolemy Aperræ, by Pliny Apyræ; in the Notitiæ the bishopric is styled Ἀπριλλῶν: in Hierocles and the Stadiasmus we find the orthography correct. The Somena of the Stadiasmus we can hardly doubt to be the same place as the Simena mentioned as a Lycian city by Pliny (l. 5. c. 27.), and by Stephanus. Simena is placed by the Stadiasmus at four stades to the westward of Andriace, precisely in which situation we find some sepulchres marked in the survey of Captain Beaufort. A further examination of these monuments might perhaps discover the name of Simena as that of the ancient town which stood here.

(8) The Stadiasmus describes the places between Attaleia and Cape Hiera as follows:—

Ἀπὸ Ἀτταλείας ἐπὶ χωρίον Τένεδον σταδ. κ. (20.)

Ἀπὸ Τενέδου εἰς Λύρναντα χωρίον σταδ. ξ. (60.) ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος μέγα ὑπέρκειται Φασίλις ἐκ δὲ Φασιλίδος εἰς Κώρυκον σταδ. (*deest.*)

Ἀπο Κωρύκου ἐπὶ τὸν Φοινικοῦντα σταδ. λ. (30.) ὑπὲρ μέγα ὄρος ὑψηλὸν κεῖται Ὄλυμπος καλούμενον. Ἐκ δὲ Φασιλίδος ἐπ' εὐθείας εἰς Κράμβουσαν σταδ. ρ. (100.)

Ἀπὸ Κραμβούσης ἐπὶ χώρας Ποσιδαρισοῦντος σταδ. λ. (30.)

Ἀπὸ Ποσιδαρισοῦντος ἐπὶ Μωρὸν ὑδὼρ καλούμενον σταδ. λ. (30.)

Ἀπὸ Μωροῦ ὕδατος ἐπὶ ἄκραν Ἱερὰν καὶ νῆσον Χελιδονίαν σταδ. ν. (50.)

Captain Beaufort discovered the ruins of Olympus at Deliktash, and those of Phaselis at Tékrova; the inscriptions at either place leaving no doubt of the identity. The ὄρος μέγα, in the second paragraph of the above passage of the Stadiasmus, is Mount Solyma, which extends 70 miles to the northward, but the highest part of which, now called Taghtalu, is immediately above the ruins of Phaselis. From the third paragraph of the preceding passage of the Stadiasmus compared with Strabo, it appears that the names Phœnicus and Olympus were applied indifferently, both to the city which stood at Deliktash and to the mountain above it. In the inscriptions, however, and in the coins of this city, Olympus only occurs. In several of the inscriptions found at Deliktash, the name of the people is written ΟΛΥΝΠΗΝΟΙ, in others, as well as on the existing coins, it is ΟΛΥΜΠΗΝΟΙ, and thus also we find the name in the ancient authors. Scylax, in the place of Olympus, names the cape and harbour of Siderus *; and it cannot be doubted that he meant the bay of Deliktash or Olympus; for he adds that in the mountain above there was a temple of Vulcan, at which there was a perpetual fire issuing from the earth, exactly as Captain Beaufort discovered it, at a short distance above the ruins of Olympus.

(9) Crambusa is an island still known by its ancient name, slightly corrupted. It is probably the same as the Dionysia of Scylax and Pliny.

(10) Strabo in a subsequent passage (p. 671) remarks, that all Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, were visible from Mount Olympus; and that upon it was the fortress of a celebrated pirate named Zenicetus.

(11) The Corycus of the Stadiasmus corresponds exactly in situation with that which Strabo describes as a coast (Κώρυκος αἰγαλός) between Olympus and Phaselis; and Lyrnas is evi-

* Stephanus of Byzantium describes Σιδαροῦς as a city and harbour, but he omits to add in what country it was situated.

dently the representative of Lyrnessus; which Homer mentions together with Thebe. According to Strabo, Thebe and Lyrnessus were supposed to have been between Phaselis and Attaleia.

(12) Arrian (l. 1. c. 26.) relates the same occurrence in the following manner: "Alexander moving from Phaselis, sent part of his army through the mountain to Perge, the Thracians pointing out the road, which was difficult, but not long. Those attached to his person, were led by himself along the sea-side. This road cannot be used, except when the wind is northerly; when the south wind blows, it is impracticable. When Alexander arrived there, a north wind succeeding to violent south winds, rendered the passage short and easy; an accident which, by Alexander and his court, was considered as having happened by the interposition of some deity."

The incident is well illustrated by the actual geography; for the whole coast, from the ruins of Phaselis to the western corner of the plain of Attaleia, consists of a lofty mountain, rising abruptly from the shore. Arrian, in saying that the passage was not long through the mountains from Phaselis into the plains where Perge was situated, shows that there was a pass in Mount Solyma not far from Attaleia; for Alexander was not yet in possession of Termessus, which commanded the principal pass of Mount Solyma, and the detour that way instead of being short would have been very long.

(13.) The position of Olbia is still uncertain; but as Strabo and Ptolemy agree in placing it at the beginning of Pamphylia, between Attaleia and the Lycian frontier, I am inclined to think that its remains may still be found (especially if Strabo has truly described it as a great fortress) in some part of the plain which extends for seven miles from the modern Adália to the foot of Mount Solyma. Stephanus, who states that the name is properly Olba, not Olbia, adds that it did not belong to Pamphylia, but to the country of the Solymi—a strong presumption that it stood upon or at the foot of Mount Solyma. As the Stadiasmus was a Periplus, the omission of Olbia is at once explained, if we suppose it to have been situated at some

distance from the coast: and as Captain Beaufort's survey was equally a Periplus, the same circumstance would account for the site of Olbia having eluded his researches. The following is the description of the coast between Coracesium and Attaleia in the Stadiasmus:

Ἀπὸ Κορακησίου εἰς Αὔνησιν ἐπὶ χωρίον Ἀνάξιον σταδ. π. (80.)
Ἀπὸ Ἀναξίων εἰς χωρίον καλούμενον Αὐγὰς σταδ. ο. (70.)
Ἀπὸ Αὐγῶν ἐπὶ ἀκρωτήριον Λευκόθειον σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Λευκοθείου εἰς Κύβερναν σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Κυβέρνης ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίδος ναοῦ σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Ἀρτεμίδος ναοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν πλωτὸν Μέλανον σταδ. θ. (9.)

* * *

Λοιπὸν Παμφυλία.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος ποταμοῦ εἰς Σίδην σταδ. ν. (50.)

* * *

Ἀπὸ Σίδης εἰς Σελεύκειαν σταδ. π. (80.)
Ἀπὸ Σελευκείας εἰς ποταμὸν πλωτὸν καλούμενον Εὐρυμέδοντα σταδ. ρ. (100.)
Ἀπὸ Κυνοσθρίου ἐπὶ ποταμὸν καλούμενον Κεστρόν σταδ. ξ. (60.) ἀναπλεύσαντι τὸν ποταμὸν πόλις ἐστὶ Πέργη τοῦ Κέστρου ἐπὶ Ῥουσκόποδα.
Ἀπὸ Ῥουσκόποδος ἐπὶ Μάσουραν καὶ τοὺς Καταῤῥάκτας σταδ. ν. (50.)
Ἀπὸ Μασούρας εἰς Μυγδάλην σταδ. ο. (70.)
Ἀπὸ Μυγδάλων εἰς Ἀττάλειαν σταδ. ι. (10.)

(14.) Pomponius Mela gives a similar description of the Catarrhactes:—"Deinde duo validissimi fluvii, Cestros et Catarrhactes: Cestros navigari facilis, hic quia se præcipitat ita dictus. Inter eos, Perga est oppidum." The Stadiasmus affords a still more accurate allusion to its present state, by using the plural τοὺς Καταῤῥάκτας, the Cataracts. The river on approaching the coast divides itself into several branches, which in falling over the cliffs that border the coast from Laara to Adália, form upon their upper part a mass of calcareous deposition, projecting considerably beyond the perpendicular line of the cliffs. Through the calcareous crust, the water makes its way to the sea; and being thus separated into several streams by a natural process, which has been rapidly increasing in its operation in the course of time, the river has now no determi-

nate mouth (as it may perhaps have had in former ages), unless it be after heavy rains, when, as I saw it in passing along the coast, it precipitates itself copiously over the cliffs near the most projecting point of the coast a little to the west of Laara. Besides this natural peculiarity which divides the Catarrhactes into many branches, its main stream is further diminished by the derivations which turn the mills and supply water to the gardens and town of Adália.

(15) I am aware that this passage has been differently interpreted. The words of Strabo are these: Εἶτα πόλις Ἀττάλεια, ἐπώνυμος τοῦ κτίσαντος Φιλαδέλφου καὶ οἰκίσαντος εἰς Κώρυκον πολίχνιον ἄλλην κατοικίαν ὄμορον καὶ μικρὸν περίβολον περιθέντος. That the meaning of the geographer was that which I have given, seems confirmed by Demetrius, as quoted by Stephanus in the following words, in which, however, he has misnamed Cilicia for Pamphylia: Ἀττάλεια ..... οἱ δὲ τὴν Κιλικίας Κώρυκον οὕτω φασὶ λέγεσθαι, ὡς Δημήτριος· ἀπὸ Ἀττάλου Φιλαδέλφου κτίσαντος αὐτήν. It seems, therefore, that Attalus sent a colony to occupy the shore of the harbour of Adália, near a small town then called Corycus; that Corycus also received a part of the colony, and that he inclosed that town and his new settlement within the same walls. The passage of Strabo is further illustrated by Suidas, (in Κωρυκαῖος,) who says that Corycus was a cape of Pamphylia, where Attaleia was built: Κώρυκος γὰρ τῆς Φαμφυλίας ἀκρωτήριον παρ' ᾧ πόλις Ἀττάλεια.

Captain Beaufort expresses his conviction that the modern Adália stands on the site of Olbia; and he places Attaleia at some ancient ruins, which he discovered at Laara, to the eastward of the Catarrhactes. D'Anville, as well as M. Gosselin (See the new French translation of Strabo, l. 14. c. 4.), are of a similar opinion. This opinion is founded entirely upon the order of names in Strabo, though he is contradicted by the evidence of Ptolemy*, of the Stadiasmus, and of the modern

* The order of names in Ptolemy on this coast is, Phaselis, Olbia, Attalia, the mouth of the Catarrhactes, Magydis, the mouth of the Cestrus, the mouth of the Eurymedon, Side. Ptol. l. 5. c. 5.

name of Adália. To me it appears that the ruins at Laara, whose position possesses no advantages adapted to the seat of a colony, are too inconsiderable for those of a city, the importance of which may be traced from the time of its Pergamenian founder, through the history of the Greeks, Romans, Crusaders, and Byzantines, down to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, without any indication or probability of a change of situation. Adália possesses all the natural advantages likely to have made it the chief settlement of the adjacent country, when the power of Asia became embodied under the successors of Alexander. The walls and other fortifications—the magnificent gate or triumphal arch, bearing an inscription in honour of Hadrian—the aqueduct—the numerous fragments of sculpture and architecture—the inscribed marbles found in many parts of the town—the Episcopal church, now converted into a mosque—the European coats of arms seen upon this church and upon the city walls—and lastly, the bishopric of Attaleia (τῆς Ἀτταλείας), of which Adália is still the see—appear to me incontrovertible evidences of identity*. In regard to the names Adália and Satalía applied to the place by the Turks and Italians respectively, it may not be unworthy of observation that they are both taken immediately from the Greek; the former from the nominative or accusative case (ἡ Ἀττάλεια, or στὴν Ἀττάλειαν), which were the forms most frequently used by the Greeks in speaking of the town itself; the latter from the genitive case (τῆς Ἀτταλείας), this being perhaps the case which the Italian navigators are chiefly in the habit of hearing the Greeks employ in speaking of the gulf or port (of the κόλφος or πόρτος τῆς Ἀτταλείας). The great difference of sound in the two modern words has been the necessary consequence of the difference between the accent of the gen. case of the Greek word, and that of the nom. or acc. The Turkish name Adália is precisely the Greek, except that the Turks have hardened the tt into d.

The vestiges of an ancient town and port, which Captain

* Voyage au Levant, par C. Lebruyn, c. 74. Voyage en Grèce, &c. par Paul Lucas, tom. 1. c. 33. Beaufort's Karamania, c. 6. Itineraire de l'Asie Mineure, par Corancez, l. 4. c. 2.

Beaufort observed at Laara, answer to the Magydus of Ptolemy, a place which flourished under the Byzantine Empire, and was a bishopric of the province of Pamphylia*. The Masura of the Stadiasmus, and the Μάσηδος of Scylax, appear to be the same place as Magydus.

(16) Although the ancient geography of the coast of Pamphylia cannot be thoroughly illustrated until the position of its chief towns is examined and ascertained, there seems little doubt that the four rivers mentioned by Strabo,—namely the Cestrus, the Eurymedon, a third river not named with islands before it, and the Melas,—are accurately fixed by the survey of Captain Beaufort and the route of General Koehler, confronted with Strabo, the Stadiasmus, Zosimus †, and Pomponius Mela ‡. The Cestrus is that which General Koehler crossed at two hours to the west of Stavros, and the ruins which he had on his left hand in crossing it seem to be those of Perge. The Eurymedon is called Kápri-su, a name derived from the ancient city of Capria, which, as well as can be understood from the imperfect text of Strabo, stood at the distance of about two miles from the sea, upon the banks of a lake of the same name, which occupies a part of the maritime region between the Eurymedon and Cestrus. The name of Kápri has, by a process not uncommon, been transferred from the lake or city to the neighbouring river Eurymedon. The remains of Aspendus ought to be found at six or eight miles from the mouth of the Eurymedon, on a lofty precipitous height on the banks of the river §. Higher up was Pednelissus. But the most interesting discovery in this part of the country would be Selge, a colony from Laconia, situate on the frontiers of Pisidia and Pamphylia, in a very fertile district, difficult of approach, in the upper regions of Mount Taurus, near the sources of the Cestrus and Eurymedon ||.

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* Hierocl. Synecd.—Notit. Episc. Græc.

† lib. 5. c. 16. ‡ lib. 1. c. 14.

§ Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 14. Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. 1. c. 27.

|| Strabo, p. 570. Polyb. l. 5. c. 72. Dionys. Perieg. v. 858. Arrian. lib. 1. c. 28. Zosim. l. 5. c. 15.

(17) There can be little doubt that the river without a name here mentioned, is that which is marked on the map between Side and the Eurymedon, although instead of any islands before it, nothing is now seen but some rocks below or even with the water's surface. In proceeding by sea from Alaya to Castel Rosso, I remained for two or three days in the mouth of this river, in a two-masted vessel of Alaya of about 50 tons. It is the only river which affords shelter, or even entrance to a boat; the Cestrus and Eurymedon, although much larger streams, being now closed by *bars*. It is very probable that the remains of Sylleium would be found upon the banks of this river, for which we have no name either ancient or modern; for Sylleium appears both from Scylax and Arrian * to have been situate between Side and the Eurymedon; and as it continued to be a place of importance under the Byzantine empire, and became the principal bishopric of the province of Pamphylia upon the decline of Perge, and superior even in rank to Attaleia †, I have little doubt that its site might be ascertained. According to the Stadiasmus, there stood also between Side and the Eurymedon one of the numerous places named Seleuceia. This may perhaps have been the port of Sylleium. The relative distances of the Stadiasmus, which are tolerably correct on this part of the coast, would place Seleuceia in the bay to the eastward of the nameless river. At the mouth of that river I did not observe any remains of antiquity.

(18) The fine ruins of Side have been described by Captain Beaufort. Its site is decisively fixed by the inscriptions found there. The extensive moles and artificial harbours, of which the remains still exist, illustrate the remark of Strabo, that Side was the chief port and place of construction of the piratic fleets; and its magnificent theatre, 400 feet in diameter, indicates that under the more civilised government of the Romans it still continued to be the chief city of this coast. Though the Turks are so ignorant as to give it the name of Eski Adália

* Scylax Perip. Pamphylia. Arrian, l. 1. c. 26.

† Hierocl. Synecd.—Constantin. Porph. de Them.—Notit. Episcop.

(Old Attaleia), the name of Side was not unknown to their gegraphers 150 years ago, being mentioned by Hadji Khalfa. The Greeks give the name of Παλαιὰ Ἀττάλεια to the ruins of Perge.

(19) There can be no doubt that the Melas is the river now called Menavgát-su, for Zosimus and Mela* agree in showing its proximity to Side. Strabo, Mela, and the Stadiasmus, all place it to the eastward of Side; and the distance of 50 stades in the Stadiasmus between the Melas and Side, is precisely that which occurs between the ruins of Side and the mouth of the river of Menavgát.

Cape Karáburnu being the most remarkable projection upon this coast, seems to be the promontory Leucotheius of the Stadiasmus, although the modern name implies *black* and the ancient *white*. The situation of Karáburnu relatively to Coracesium and the Melas, agrees also with that of Leucotheius with regard to the same places in the Stadiasmus. It is probably the same as the Cape Leucolla of Pliny †.

If the Κύβερνα of the Stadiasmus is the same as the Little Cibyra of Strabo, as we can hardly doubt, there is a manifest disagreement between the two authorities in regard to the position of its territory. It is probable that the text of Strabo is in fault, and that in the order of names the coast of Lesser Cibyra should follow instead of preceding the Melas; for it is difficult to believe that any other territory should have been interposed between that of so large a city as Side and a river which was only four miles distant from it. The vestiges of Cibyra are probably those observed by Captain Beaufort upon a height which rises from the right bank of a considerable river about 8 miles to the eastward of the Melas, about 4 miles to the westward of Cape Karáburnu, and nearly 2 miles from the shore. Ptolemy ‡ places Cibyra among the inland towns of

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* τοῦ Μέλανος καὶ τοῦ Εὐρυμέδοντος· ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐπέκεινα διαβαίνει τῆς Σίδης· ὁ δὲ διαῤῥεῖ τῇ Ἀσπένδῳ. Zosim. l. 5. c. 16.—Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 14.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 27.

‡ Geograph. lib. 5. c. 5.

Cilicia Tracheia; Scylax names it as a city of Pamphylia, near Coracesium.

The 200 stades of the Stadiasmus between Coracesium and Leucotheius, accord tolerably well with the 16 G. M. of the map between Alaya Coracesium and Karáburna: and although the relative distances of the two ancient ruins which occur in this interval do not very accurately agree with the two places mentioned in that Periplus, I am inclined to consider the easternmost of the ruins as Anaxia, and the westernmost (which is on a cape) as Augæ. The meaning of the Stadiasmus seems to be, that Anaxia was not on the coast, and that it had a port called Aunesis,—circumstances which exactly agree with the ruins nearest to Alaya. I greatly suspect also that the Anaxia of the Periplus is the Hamaxia of Strabo, and that the geographer has erroneously placed that town to the eastward of Coracesium.

(20) As no other author makes mention of this Ptolemais, and as its name is not found in the Stadiasmus, it may be conjectured that Ptolemais did not stand upon the coast, but occupied, perhaps, the situation of the modern town of A'lara, where is a river, and upon its banks a steep hill crowned with a Turkish castle.

(21) The testimonies of Strabo, Ptolemy, Scylax, and the Stadiasmus, concur in placing Coracesium at Alaya, the extraordinary situation of which town upon a rocky promontory, precipitous on one side and on the other extremely steep, is well suited to that fortress, which alone held out against Antiochus the Great, when all the other places on the coast of Cilicia had submitted to his arms *. Coracesium was one of the positions which particularly assisted in supporting the spirit of piracy upon this coast; and it was the last at which the pirates ventured to make any united resistance to the fleet of Pompey, before they separated and retired to their strong holds in Mount Taurus. For the history of the pirates the reader may consult Strabo, the Mithridatic war of Appian, (who gives an account

* Liv. l. 33. c. 20.

of their reduction by Pompey,) and Plutarch's life of the same Roman commander. Their long success was owing to the commodious ports and strong positions of the coast, to the strength of Mount Taurus behind, and to the frequent disputes of the kings of Cyprus, Egypt, and Syria, among one another and with the Romans; which made it occasionally the interest of every party to support the Cilician cities in piracy and independence. Thus, like the Barbary states in the present day, the opportunity was afforded them of collecting plunder and captives from every vessel and shore that was unable to resist them. The sacred island of Delus became the entrepôt of their trade; and the increasing luxury of the Romans gave encouragement to their commerce in slaves.

(22) Lucan * calls Syedra a port. Florus describes it as a desertum Ciliciæ scopulum; yet its copper-coins are not uncommon †; it probably shared with Coracesium a fertile plain which here borders the coast, and stretches for ten miles to the eastward of the latter place.

(23) I have already observed that I am inclined to prefer the testimony of the Stadiasmus, as to the site of Hamaxia, to that which Strabo has here given: for notwithstanding the frequent interruptions, false spellings, and false distances in the Periplus, the order of names in a work of that description is more to be depended upon than in Strabo. Unfortunately, Hamaxia is not mentioned by any other author.

(24) The following is the description in the Stadiasmus of the coast between Anemurium and Coracesium.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀνεμουρίου εἰς Πλατανοῦντα σταδ. τν. (350). Error.
Ἀπὸ Πλατανοῦντος εἰς χωρίον Χάραδρον σταδ. τν. (350). Error.
Ὑπὲρ δὲ Χαράδρου κεῖται ὄρος μέγα Ἄνδρακος καλούμενος ἀπὸ σταδ. λ. (30.)
Ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαράδρου ἐπὶ χωρίον Κράγον καλούμενον σταδ. ρ. (100).

* Pharsal. lib. 8. v. 259. † Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. Cilicia.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κράγου ἐπὶ χωρίου ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, Ζεφελίους (lege Νεφέλεως) σταδ. κε. (25).

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζεφελίου ἐπὶ ἄκραν Νησιαζούσης σταδ. π. (80).

Ἀπὸ Νησιαζούσης ἄκρας εἰς Σελινοῦντα σταδ. ρ. (100).

* * *

Ἀπὸ Λαερτοῦ εἰς Κορακήσιον σταδ. ρ. (100).

The distance between Selinus and Laertes is wanting; which, as it deprives us also of the whole number of stades between Anemurium and Coracesium, deducts very largely from the information contained in this passage of the Stadiasmus, where, moreover, there are great errors in some of the separate distances. Neither Syedra nor Hamaxia are mentioned; but the other names are the same as in Strabo and in the same order, with the addition of Cape Nesiazusa, which is not mentioned by any other author, and of Cape Nephelis, which according to Livy* was the station of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, when having reduced the cities of Cilicia as far as Selinus inclusive, he was employed in the siege of Coracesium, and where he received the ambassadors of the Rhodii.

The preservation of the ancient names of Selinus, Charadrus, and Anemurium, renders it easy to fix the principal places on the line of coast between Alaya and Anamúr. If we allow any weight to the evidence of the distances in the preceding passage of the Stadiasmus, the site of Laertes was at some ruins on a hill near the shore, 9 G. M. direct from Alaya, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ from the ruins of Selinus, or Trajanopolis, at Selinti. Cragus, the Antiocheia super Crago of Ptolemy (l. 5. c. 8.), who places it next to Selinus eastward, is found about half way between Selinus and Charadrus on a steep hill rising from the shore, which exactly corresponds with the description of Cragus by Strabo. Nephelis appears from the distance in the Stadiasmus to have been the promontory two or three miles to the west-

* Livy (l. 33. c. 20.) says: "Nephelida promontorium Ciliciæ, inclitum fœdere antiquo Atheniensium." What treaty this was it is difficult to discover—not the treaty of Cimon with the Persians; for according to that, the Chelidonian promontory was the point beyond which the Persians were forbidden to sail.

ward of the same place. But in this case Ptolemy has improperly inserted Nephelis between Antiocheia and Anemurium. It seems not improbable that Antiocheia was founded or named by Antiochus, when he chose the bay of Nephelis for the station of his fleet in his operations against the Cilician fortresses. According to Appian (Mithrid. c. 96.) there was a fortress of Anticragus, as well as of Cragus. In regard to Platanus, Captain Beaufort remarks, that "between the plain of Selinti and the promontory of Anamúr, a distance of 30 miles, the ridge of bare rocky hills forming the coast is interrupted but twice by narrow valleys which conduct the mountain torrents to the sea. The first of these is Kháradra; the other is half way between that place and Anamúr." The latter seems therefore to be the Platanus of the Stadiasmus: in comparing which authority with Strabo and with the map, it would appear that Platanus gave the name of Platanistus to the whole coast between Charadrus and Anemurium, and that the distance of Platanus from either place in stades should be ρν (150) instead of τν (350).

(25) These two numbers, namely, 820 stades from Coracesium to Anemurium, and 500 stades from Anemurium to Soli, are obviously incorrect; nor would they be very accurate if they were to change places, the distance from Coracesium to Anemurium being about 50 geographical miles in direct distance, and that from Anemurium to Soli near 100.

(26) Nagidus, a colony of the Samii *, appears from its silver coins † to have been anciently one of the chief cities upon this coast: it probably declined in proportion as the neighbouring position of Anemurium (which was better adapted to be one of the fortresses and ports of the pirates) rose into importance. The two theatres, the aqueduct, and other ruins at Anemurium, all show that it chiefly flourished under the Romans. The site of Nagidus appears to have been on the hill above the castle of Anamúr

The river Arymagdus, placed by Ptolemy between Anemu-

* Pompon. Mel. lib. 1. c. 13. † See Eckhel, Hunter, &c.

rium and Arsinoe, seems to be the same as the Lalassis, which, according to Pliny, flowed from Isauria into the sea of Anemurium *. The name of Lalassis was applied also to the country on the banks of this river. Ptolemy mentions Nineia, as the only town which it contained. The river is now called the Direk-Ondasi; it joins the coast at the castle of Anamúr, five miles north-eastward of Cape Anamúr.

The following are the places between Celenderis and Anemurium according to the Stadiasmus:

Ἀπὸ Κελενδέρεως εἰς Μανδάνην σταδ. ρ. (100).

Ἀπὸ Μανδάνης ἐπ' ἀκρωτήριον Ποσείδιον καλούμενον σταδ. ζ. (7).

Ἀπὸ Μανδάνης ἐπὶ τὰς Διονυσιοφάνους σταδ. λ. (30).

Ἀπὸ Διονυσιοφάνους εἰς Ρυγμάνους (qu. Ἀρυμάγδους?) σταδ. ν. (50).

Ἀπὸ Ρυγμανῶν εἰς Ἀνεμούριον σταδ. ν. (50).

Notwithstanding the distortion of names in this passage, yet as the two extreme places preserve their ancient appellations, and the amount of distance 237 stades corresponds with the 26 G. M. of the map, we may place some confidence in the intermediate positions. The fifty stades of the Stadiasmus between Rhygmana and Anemurium accord with the real distance between the cape of Anamúr and the castle of Anamúr, which stands at the mouth of the Arymagdus: it is probable therefore that Ρύγμανα is an error for Ἀρύμαγδος. Nor can it well be doubted that the promontory Poseidium is the cape now called Kizlimán, this being the only remarkable headland between Anemurium and Celenderis, and the distances in the Stadiasmus according very accurately with the reality. According to an emendation of Saumaise, who was not acquainted with this corroborating passage of the Stadiasmus, Scylax also makes mention of the promontory of Poseidium.

(27) The Arsinoe here mentioned by Strabo is the only place in Ptolemy between the mouth of the Arymagdus and Celenderis: it is named also by Pliny, Stephanus, and the geographer of Ravenna, the last of whom in giving the names in this order, Anemurium, Arsinoe, Sicæ, Celenderis, corrobo-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 5. cap. 27.

rates Strabo and Ptolemy, and justifies us in placing Arsinoe at or near the ruined modern castle called Sokhta Kálesi, below which is a port such as Strabo describes at Arsinoe, and a peninsula on the east side of the harbour covered with ruins. The relative distances in the Stadiasmus place Dionysiophanæ at the same spot. Possibly this may have been the name of the harbour or peninsula, and Arsinoë may have stood upon the hill of Sokhta Kálesi. The name of Syce or Sycea, the Sicæ of the geographer of Ravenna, is found as a Cilician town in Athenæus * and Stephanus of Byzantium; and if the emendation of Scylax by Gronovius may be followed, it was very near the promontory Poseidium.—Perhaps it possessed the fertile valley lying on the east side of the hills which end in Cape Kizliman.

One cannot but suspect at first sight that the Mandane of the Stadiasmus is the same place as the Melania of Strabo. The seven stades however of the Stadiasmus place Mandane very near Poseidium to the eastward. On the other hand there is a small bay only two or three miles to the westward of Kelénderi, where Captain Beaufort remarked some vestiges of antiquity: it remains doubtful therefore whether the distance in the Stadiasmus is correct, and whether Melania and Mandane were the same, or different places.

(28) As the Stadiasmus does not mention any distance between the Gulf of Berenice and Celenderis, there is reason to think that Berenice was the name of the *bay* to the eastward of the little *port* of Kelénderi. The following are the names and distances of the places in the Stadiasmus between the mouth of the Calycadnus and the Gulf of Berenice:

Ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (scil. Καλυκάδνου) ἐπὶ ἄκραν ἀμμώδη στενὴν Σαρπεδονίαν καλουμένην. σταδ. π. (80.)

Ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατεινὸν τὰ Ϝραχέα ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Σαρπεδονίας σταδ. κ. (20.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἔγγιστα πρὸς τὴν Κύπρον εἰς πόλιν Καρπασίου νεωτάτου σταδ. ὑ. (400.)

Ἀπὸ Σαρπεδονίας ἄκρας εἰς Σελεύκειαν σταδ. ρκ. (120.) ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς Σώλους (leg. Ὄρμους sive Ὄλμους) σταδ. ρκ (120.)

* Athen. l. 3. c. 5.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ὁρμῶν ἐπ' ἄκραν καὶ κώμην καλουμένην Μύλας σταδ. μ. (40.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐπὶ λιμένα Νησούλιον καὶ ἄκραν ἐπινήσιαν σταδ. ξ. (60.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐπὶ χωρίον Φιλαίαν σταδ. κ. (20.) Οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ Μυλαίων τὸν ἐπίτομον, σταδ. φ. (500.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς Φιλαίας ἐπὶ νῆσον Πιτυοῦσαν σταδ. ρλ. (130.) Ἀπέχει ἡ Πιτυοῦσα ἀπὸ Χερρονήσου τῇ πρὸς τὴν Μύλη σταδ. κ. (20.)

Ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Πιτυούσης πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδισιάδην σταδ. με῀. (45.)

Ἀπὸ Ἀφροδισιάδος ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ὑμῶν ἐχόν τὴν Πιτυοῦσαν ἐπὶ πύργον κείμενον πρὸς ἄκραν ἡ προσονομάζεται Ζεφύριον σταδ. μ. (40.)

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζεφυρίου ἐπ' ἄκραν καὶ πόλιν Ἀφροδισιάδα σταδ. μ. (40.)

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σαρπεδονίας ἄκρας εἰς Ἀφροδισιάδα ὁ πλοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν κα ..... δέθιν σταδ. ρκ. (120.) Ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδισιὰς κεῖται ἔγγιστα τῆς Κύπρου πρὸς τὴν Αὐλιᾶνα ἄκτην κατὰ πρύμναν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς ἄρκτου σταδ. φ. (500.)

Ἀπὸ Ἀφροδισιάδος ἐπὶ χωρίον καλούμενον Κίφισον σταδ. λε῀. (35.)

Ἀπὸ Μέλανος ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ ἄκραν Κραύνους σταδ. μ. (40.)

Ἀπὸ τῶν Κραύνων ἐπὶ τὰ Πισούργια εὐώνυμα ἔχοντα τὴν Κράμουσαν σταδ. με. (45.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδισιάδος ἐπὶ τὰ Πισούργια σταδ. ρκ. (120.)

Ἀπὸ τῶν Πισουργίων εἰς κόλπον Βερνίκην (leg. Βερενίκην) σταδ. ν. 50.

Ἀπὸ Κελενδέρεως εἰς Μανδάνην σταδ. ρ. (100). &c.

(29) Although there is not much to be learnt from the preceding passage of the Stadiasmus, one very important point is settled by it. The long sandy promontory of Lissan El Kahpeh is so accurately described by the words ἄκραν ἀμμώδη στενὴν, as to leave no doubt of its identity with Sarpedonia, celebrated as being the place beyond which the ships of Antiochus the Great were forbidden to sail by his treaty with the Romans *. Strabo

* In the copy of the treaty in Polybius (l. 22. c. 26.) Cape Calycadnus is mentioned as the point. Μηδὲ πλείτωσαν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Καλυκάδνου ἀκρωτηρίου, εἰ μὴ φόρους ἢ πρέσβεις ἢ ὁμήρους ἄγοιεν. In the Latin copy of the treaty in Livy (l. 38. c. 38.) both capes are mentioned. "Neve navigatio citra Calycadnum neve Sarpedonem promontoria" &c. Appian, who has given the substance only of the treaty, names also both the capes: Ὅρον μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι δύο ἄκρας Καλύκαδνόν τε καὶ Σαρπηδόνιον. Appian Syr. c. 39.

has therefore justly described the mouth of the Calycadnus as occurring after turning Cape Sarpedon to the eastward; and the same relative situation of the places is indicated as well by the Stadiasmus, as by Ptolemy, whose names are in the following order: Celenderis, Aphrodisias, Sarpedon, the mouth of the Calycadnus, Zephyrium, Corycus. Although Ptolemy here describes the mouth of the Calycadnus and Zephyrium as separate places, I believe them to have been the same, and that Cape Zephyrium was nothing more than the remarkable projection of the sandy coast at the mouth of that river; for Polybius, Livy, and Appian, all speak of Calycadnus as a cape, and the two latter as a cape different from Sarpedon: it can hardly be doubted therefore that the projection at the mouth of the river was meant by them. In corroboration of this opinion, it is to be observed that the Stadiasmus does not notice any Zephyrium on this part of the coast, but names only the mouth of the Calycadnus at 80 stades to the east of Sarpedonia, which is nearly the distance of the mouth of the Ghiuk Su from Lissan El Kahpeh. Pliny* in like manner omits Cape Zephyrium, stating the order of names (from E. to W.) as follows: "Corycus eodem nomine oppidum et portus et specus; mox flumen Calycadnus, promontorium Sarpedon, oppida Holme, Myle promontorium et oppidum Veneris, a quo proxime Cyprus insula."

The Aphrodisias or city of Venus which Ptolemy here names, although unnoticed by Strabo, is mentioned by Stephanus, by Diodorus †, and by Livy ‡; from the last of whom it appears to have ranked in the time of Antiochus the Great among the chief towns of the coast. Its position, as indicated by Pliny, agrees with that ascribed to it by Ptolemy and the Stadiasmus; and it appears from their joint authority to have been situated between Celenderis and Sarpedon, on or very near a promontory, also called Aphrodisias, which lay about north of Cape Aulion the north-eastern extremity of Cyprus. These data, however precise, are not sufficiently so to decide the question be-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 27.
† Diodor. Sic. l. 19. c. 61.
‡ Liv. Hist. Nat. l. 33. c. 20.

tween two adjacent capes on the coast westward of Sarpedon; and the confused account of the places in the Stadiasmus does not inspire much confidence in that authority. We perceive, however, that the Stadiasmus accords with Strabo and Pliny in naming Holmi as the first place to the westward of Cape Sarpedon, and Pliny confirms the Stadiasmus in placing Mylæ between Holmi and Aphrodisias. Mylæ in the Stadiasmus is called a Cape and Chersonese, a description precisely applicable to Cape Cavaliere, which is a peninsula connected with the continent by a very narrow isthmus. I am inclined to think, therefore, that cape Cavaliere was Mylæ, that the cape near the Papadúla rocks was the promontory of Venus, and that some vestiges of the town of Aphrodisias would be found near the harbour behind the cape. Captain Beaufort informs us that he did not observe many remains of Grecian antiquity on this part of the coast; they were probably converted into new buildings by the Crusaders, many marks of whose residence are found here, and among others the names of Cavaliere and Provençal attached to the most remarkable cape and island *. The island of Provençal, called by the Turks Menavát, is probably the Pityussa of the Stadiasmus; for the Papadúla islands, consisting of several small rocks, would hardly have been described by a Greek word in the singular. Holmi, the ancient residence of the people of Seleuceia before the time of its foundation by Seleucus Nicator †, was probably at

* Among other places on this coast taken possession of by the Knights of St. John were three fortresses, consigned to their care about the year 1200 by Pope Innocent III., who had received them from Leo king of Armenia, on the occasion of his coronation and acknowledgment of the Latin church. The ancient Armenian inscriptions still existing at Korgos and Selefke, render it probable that these were two of the fortresses. See Beaufort's Karamania, pp. 220, 245.

† Stephanus (in Σελεύκεια) says that this Seleuceia was formerly called Olbia: which appears to be a mistake, arising from the similarity of the names Olbia; and Holmi. Strabo is confirmed by Pliny (l. 5. c. 27.), who says, "Seleucia supra amnem Calycadnum, Trachiotis cognomine, a mare relata, ubi vocabatur Hormia "(Holmia).

Aghalimán, the modern port of Seléfke. The observation of the Stadiasmus, that the distances were equal between Cape Sarpedonia and Seleuceia, and between the same promontory and Holmi, will be found accurate when applied to Aghalimán and Seléfke, relatively to the extreme point of the sandhills above the low sandy cape of Lissan el Kahpeh: for it may easily be credited that the point of the sandhills was the extreme cape at the date of the Stadiasmus; at which time the long low spit may have been the shoals which that authority notices as extending twenty stades beyond Sarpedonia. The distance, however, of 120 stades from Sarpedon to Seleuceia and to Holmi will be found too great, when measured from the point of the sandhills to Seléfke and Aghaliman.

The river which joins the sea at the bottom of the Bay of Papadúla, being the largest stream on the part of the coast under consideration, seems to be the Melas of the Stadiasmus; and the cape which lies midway between that stream and Celenderis may possibly be the Crauni of the same authority. The other places mentioned in the Stadiasmus, I shall not pretend to determine, but proceed to extract from it the names of the places on the whole extent of the coast of Cilicia Campestris, with their respective distances. As this authority proceeds in a contrary direction to Strabo, it will be found more convenient to examine the entire passage relating to the coast of Cilicia before we continue the immediate reference to the text of Strabo, followed in the numbers attached to these Notes.

Ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὰς Κιλικίας πύλας σταδ. σ. (200.) ὁμοῦ οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ Πάλτου ἕως τῶν Κιλικίων πυλῶν σταδ. ϛφ. (2500.)

Λοιπὸν Κιλικία.

Ἀπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων πυλῶν εἰς τὸ Ἱερὸν σταδ. ρκ. (120.) τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον εἰς πόλιν.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ εἰς πόλιν Ἀμισὸν σταδ. ψ. (700.)

Ἀπὸ Ἀμισοῦ εἰς τὰς Ἀμμωνιακὰς (leg. Ἀμανικὰς) πύλας ἐντὸς κοιλοτάτου τοῦ κόλπου σταδ. ς. (6.)

Ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν εἰς κώμην Ἄλλην σταδ. ν. (50.)

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριάνδρου οὐριοδρομοῦντος σταδ. ρ. (100.)

Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄλλων εἰς πόλιν Αἰγαίας σταδ. ρ. (100.)

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Μυριάνδρου εἰς Αἰγαίας εὐθυδρομοῦντι ἐπὶ τοῦ πολοῦ νότου σταδ. ρ. (100.)

Ἀπὸ Αἰγαίων ὁ παράπλους Κρημνώδος ἐπὶ κώμην Σερετίλην σταδ. ρν. (150.)

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ρωσοῦ εὐθυδρομοῦντι ἐπὶ τὴν Σερετίλην ἐπὶ τοῦ πολοῦ νότου σταδ. σν. (250.) κατὰ δὴ τὴν Σερετίλην κώμη ἀπάνω Πύραμος καλεῖται· καὶ ὑπεράνω αὐτοῦ ὄρος καλούμενον Πάριον ἀπὸ σταδ. ξ. (60.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς Σερετίλλεως εἰς κώμην ἐπ' ἄκραν Ἰανουαρίαν σταδ. α. (1000.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰανουαρίας ἄκρας ἐπὶ τὰς Διδύμους νήσους σταδ. λ. (30.)

Ἀπὸ τῶν Διδύμων νήσων εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Μάλλον σταδ. ρ. (100.)

Ἀπὸ Μάλλου εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπὶ Πύραμον ποταμὸν σταδ. ρν. (150.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ἣν νῦν Κέφαλον καλοῦσι σταδ. ο. (70.) παρὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ποταμός ἐστι πλωτὸς Πύραμος καλεῖται.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοπέλου (scil. Ρωσσικοῦ *) δὲ μὴ κατακολπίζοντι, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐθείας πλέοντι εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν· ἔπειτα πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τῆς Ἠπείρου νότῳ τὰ εὐώνυμα μάκρον διαφάλλω σταδ. τν. (350.)

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Πυράμου ποταμοῦ εὐθυδρομοῦντι εἰς Σώλους ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν μέρη τῆς ἄρκτου νότῳ μίκρα παρέλκας σταδ. φ. (500.)

Ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Πυράμου ἐπὶ τὸν πόταμον Ἄρειον σταδ. ρκ. (120.)

Ἀπὸ Ἀρείου ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ στόματος λίμνης, ὃ καλεῖται Ρηγμοὶ σταδ. ο. (70.)

Ἀπὸ Ρηγμῶν εἰς Τάρσον σταδ. ο῾. (70.) ῥέει δὲ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ποτα[μὸς] Κύδνος.

Ἀπὸ Τάρσου ἐπὶ χωρίον Ζεφύριον σταδ. ρκ. (120.)

Ἀπὸ δὲ Σόλων ἐπὶ κώμην Καλάνθειαν σταδ. ν. (50.)

Ἀπὸ Καλανθίας κώμης εἰς Ἐλαιοῦντα σταδ. ρ. (100.)

Ἀπὸ Σεψαούσης (qu. Σεβάστης?) εἰς κώμην καλουμένην Κώρυκον σταδ. κ. (20.)

Ἀπὸ δὲ Σόλων εἰς Κώρυκον σταδ. σπ. (280.) ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπέχον ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριον Κωρύκιον καλούμενον σταδ. ρ. (100.)

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωρυκίου ἐπὶ λιμένα καλούμενον καλὸν Κορακήσιον σταδ. ρκε. (125.)

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κορακησίου ἐπὶ τὴν Ποικίλην Πέτραν, ἥτις ἔχει κλίμακα δι' ἧς ἐστιν ὁδὸς εἰς Σελεύκειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Λύκου σταδ. ο῾. (70.) (lege Καλυκάδνου sive Καλύδνου †).

Ἀπὸ τῆς κλίμακος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Καλύδιον (lege Καλυδνον) σταδ. μ. 40.

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* Ptolemy calls the southern cape at the entrance of the Issic gulf (now Cape Hanzir) by this name, Ρωσσικὸς σκόπελος.

† Stephanus (in Τρία) says, the Calycadnus was sometimes called Calydnus.

The reader will think, perhaps, that this long passage was hardly worth transcribing Some of the distances indeed between the known points give us not much confidence in its authority: the number of stades, for instance, from Paltus on the coast of Syria to the Cilician pylæ is more than double, and that across the Gulf of Issus from Myriandrus to Ægæ is less than half the true distance. Nor will the shorter lines along the coast bear much examination. I have thought it worth while, however, to complete the comparison of this Periplus with the survey of Capt. Beaufort, because its minute description can be illustrated only by a delineation so detailed and accurate as that of Capt. B. In the part of the Gulf of Issus which has not yet been surveyed, the names and their order may be of use to future investigators of the comparative geography of these countries: and the Periplus may throw some light upon ancient topography, when it has itself received illustration from a correct delineation.

There are two points at the head of the Gulf of Issus besides Alexandreia, which have preserved the ancient name. These are Baiæ and Ægæ, both which words are still used in the *Romaic* form (the accusative case), in which they were received by the Turks from the Byzantine Greeks. Βαιαί is now called Bayás, and Αἰγαί or Αἰγαῖαι, Ayás. The former stands in a small plain at the foot of Mount Amanus, which rises from the extremity of the Gulf; the latter occupies a point on the north side of the gulf, at the entrance of a bay, which is formed on the opposite or western side by a low cape, at the mouth of the Djihún, or Ghihún—the ancient Pyramus.

Strabo, Ptolemy *, and the Stadiasmus agree in naming two pylæ, or passes, fortified with a wall and gate at the head of

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* Τῆς ἴδιως Κιλικίας μεσόγειοι ..... Μοψυεστία, Καστάβαλα, Νικόπολις, Ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ αἱ Ἀμανικαὶ πύλαι. Ptolem. l. 5 c. 8.

Ἡ Συρία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῇ τὲ Κιλικίᾳ, &c. ..... Μετὰ τὸν Ἰσσὸν καὶ τὰς Κιλικίας πύλας Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ κατὰ Ἰσσὸν, Μυρίανδρος, &c. ..... Ἱερίας δὲ πόλεις αἵδε. Πίναρα, Πάγραι καὶ αἱ Συρίαι πύλαι. Ptolem. l. 5. c. 15.

the gulf; namely, the gate of Amanus, which was in Cilicia, and the Cilician gate, which formed the division between Syria and Cilicia. The position of both these pylæ has been ascertained *; the northern or Amanic, between Ayás and Bayás, at the northern or innermost extremity of the gulf, ἐν τῷ κοιλοτάτῳ τοῦ κολπου, as the Stadiasmus has well described it,——the southern or Cilician, between Bayás and Iskenderún, not far from, if not exactly at the place, where Pococke and other modern travellers observed some ruins vulgarly known by the name of the Pillars of Jonas. The pass of Beilan, leading from Iskenderún over the mountain into the plain of Antioch, was a third pylæ †, which has been well distinguished by Ptolemy from the other two, and was justly called the Gate of Syria.

It will follow from the foregoing remarks, that I cannot agree with the author of the Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus, in thinking that Strabo, by the words Ἀμανίδες Πύλαι, and αἱ Πύλαι λεγόμεναι, ὅριον Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων ‡, meant one and the same pass; or that by either of these pylæ he meant the pass of Beilan. For it is to be observed, that his words Ἀμανίδες πύλαι occur in enumerating the places in their order, thus: Mallus, Ægæ, Amanides Pylæ, Issus. At Issus, after observing that the gulf took its name from that city, he suddenly breaks off from his former order, mentions several cities in the neighbourhood of the Gulf, and ends with naming the gate which formed the boundary of Syria and Cilicia; which, it is to be observed, could not have been the Pass of Beilan, because in that case Alexandria would have been included in Cilicia: whereas we know that Issus was the last town of that province. Nor is the meaning which Major Rennell gives to these words

* Pococke's Travels, vol. 2. part 1. c. 20. M. Kinneir's Journey in Asia Minor, p. 135. Niebuhr's Map in the Voyage en Arabie, tom. 2. pl. 52. Drummond's Travels, letter 5.

† I saw the foundation of the wall which once fortified this pass. Perhaps Beilan is only a corruption of Πύλην, or Pyla in the accusative.

‡ Strabo, p. 676. See the translation in p. 180 of this volume.

of Strabo supported by the other passage which he cites (from p. 751); the words of which are ..... αἱ Πάγραι τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος, χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τοῦ Ἀμανοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀμανίδων πυλῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν κείμενον. Ὑποπίπτει μὲν οὖν ταῖς Πάγραις τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πεδίον. The ruins of Pagræ are found under their ancient name, in the usual modern form of the accusative case (Pagras), on the southern slope of Mount Amanus eight or nine miles below Beilan on the road to Antioch. Had Beilan been the Amanic gate meant by Strabo, he would surely have described Pagræ simply as being on the descent from the gates of Amanus into the plain of Antioch, not as on the *passage over* Mount Amanus, which leads from the Pylæ Amanides into Syria; for thus the passage should be translated, and not as Dr. Gillies has given it, "situate upon the *ascent* of Mount Amanus leading from the gates of Amanus into Syria." Beilan certainly was, as I have just observed, *a Pylæ*, and it was upon Mount Amanus, or rather exactly at the point which separated Mount Amanus from Mount Pieria; but it was not the Pylæ Amanides of Strabo, the position of which, as already described, is exactly confirmed by the Stadiasmus, as well as by Ptolemy. There was a fourth pass, as Major Rennell has justly observed, which crossing Mount Amanus from the eastward, descended upon the centre of the head of the gulf, near Issus. By this pass it was that Dareius marched from Sochus, and took up his position on the banks of the Pinarus; by which movement Alexander, who had just before marched from Mallus to Myriandrus, through the two maritime pylæ, was placed between the Persians and Syria. Cicero also alludes to this pass when he observes, that "nothing is stronger than Cilicia on the side of Syria, there being only two narrow entrances into it over the Amanus, the ridge of which mountain divides the two provinces: "qui Syriam a Cilicia aquarum divortio dividit*." The other pass to which he alludes was that of Beilan.

* Cicero ad Div. l. 15. ep. 4. ad Attic. l. 5. ep. 20. Cicero, in clearing Mount Amanus of the Parthians, took Erana, the chief town, and several smaller places.

With regard to the military operations of Alexander and of Cyrus on this celebrated scene of action, I must be satisfied, until we have a more detailed and accurate map, with referring the reader to Major Rennell, who has ably confronted the various evidences upon the subject in his illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus. The chief movements and the general situation of the places are sufficiently clear, and I fully subscribe to Major Rennell's opinions, with the sole exception which I have just stated.

Having ascertained the eastern extremity of the line of coast comprehended between the mouth of the Calycadnus and the head of the gulf of Issus, I shall now return to the western extremity, and, proceeding according to the order of names in the extract from Strabo, examine how far the text of the Geographer can be illustrated by other authorities, particularly the Stadiasmus. The modern names of Kórgos, Lámas, and Tersús, which would probably be still nearer the original Corycus, Latmus, and Tarsus, when written by a Greek, are the principal landmarks, and together with the ruins of Pompeiopolis at Mezetlu, they render it not difficult, with the assistance of Captain Beaufort's survey, to fix most of the intermediate places.

(30) Here it will be observed that the Stadiasmus exactly confirms Strabo's description of the rock Pœcile, with its steps leading to Seleuceia. Its distance of 40 stades from the Calycadnus, if correct, will place it about Pershendi, at the north-eastern angle of the sandy plain of the Calycadnus, where a sheltered bight between the sandy beach and a projection of the mountains which constitute the coast from thence as far as the Lámas, serves as the harbour of Selefke towards the east, as Aghalimán is to the west. Instead of any steps in the rocks, Captain Beaufort here found the "extensive ruins of a walled town, with temples, arcades, aqueducts, and tombs built round a small level, which had some appearance of having once been a harbour, with a narrow opening to the sea." An inscription copied by Captain Beaufort from a tablet over the eastern gate of the ruins, accounts for the omission of any notice of this *town* by Strabo; for the inscription states it to have been entirely

built by Fluranius, archon of the Eparchia of Isauria, in the reign of the Augusti Valentinian, Valens, and Gratianus *. It seems probable that it is the same place called Pœcile Petra by Strabo; and that being the eastern port of Seleuceia, it acquired under the Roman emperors a share of the importance to which Seleuceia then attained, and probably some new name, perhaps Zephyrium. As the Stadiasmus speaks of the place in the same terms as Strabo, it may be inferred that this Periplus is older than the ruins at Pershendi, or older than the 4th century.

(31) Between Pœcile Petra and Corycus, Strabo places Cape Anemurium and the island Crambusa; the Stadiasmus names only port Coracesium. Κώρυκος still preserves its name; but instead of being a promontory as described by Strabo, it is an island, upon which stands a castle similar in structure to another larger castle on the neighbouring shore of the continent. The castle on the island appears from the inscriptions which it preserves, to have been of the time of the Armenians, who possessed this country in the beginning of the 13th century. In 1432 Korgos belonged to the king of Cyprus †. In 1471 it was taken from the Turks of Mahomet the Second by the Venetians, who gave it up to the prince of Karaman ‡. The castle on the shore stands on the site of a Greek town, the ancient Corycus §, which Strabo has not noticed. There does not appear to be any cape on the four miles of coast between this point and Pershendi that will readily identify itself with his cape Ane-

* We find in Hierocles that Seleuceia was the metropolis of Isauria at the time when Cilicia, divided into two ἐπαρχίαι, extended no further westward than Corycus inclusive. The chief magistrate, however, is stated by Hierocles to have been intitled ἡγεμών, not ἄρχων: but Hierocles probably wrote long after the date of this inscription, and in the interval some change may have taken place in the mode of government.

† Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière in the years 1432, 1433, translated by Johnes, pp. 174. 190.

‡ Josaphat Barbaro-Viaggio in Persia.

§ Liv. l. 33. c. 20. Plin. l. 5. c. 27. Pomp. Mela, l. 1. c. 13. Stephan. in Κώρυκος.

murium, nor any harbour that will agree with the Coracesium of the Stadiasmus; and the distances in the last authority are quite absurd. On the summit of the mountain, above the ruins of Corycus, ought to be found the Corycian cave, of which Strabo, Mela, and Solinus have related such wonders, that with regard to the greatest part of them we may use the words applied by Solinus himself to one of the circumstances reported of the cave—Qui volunt, credunt.

(32) Elæussa is no longer an island; and it is remarkable that Stephanus, though in one place * he calls it an island near Corycus, in another † describes it as a Chersonese. A sandy plain now connects Elæussa with the coast, and with the ruins of the city which derived its importance and its name of Sebaste from having been the residence of Archelaus king of Cappadocia ‡. These ruins consist of a temple, theatre, numerous sepulchres, and three aqueducts, one of which is derived from the river Lamus, six miles distant. The distance of Elæussa as well as of Soli from Corycus is tolerably exact in the Stadiasmus; consequently there must be some error either in the distance between Soli and Calanthia, or in that between Calanthia and Elæussa: and hence, as there are no conspicuous ruins upon this part of the coast, it becomes impossible to fix Calanthia.

(33) Soli, which like Aspendus and Rhodus was a colony from Argus, was at one time the chief city on the coast of Cilicia; but it had fallen into decay, chiefly by the ill treatment of Tigranes, when Pompey, having reduced Cilicia, rebuilt it and named it Pompeiopolis §. Captain Beaufort has published a plan of its ruins. The elliptical mole and artificial port seem to have been a magnificent structure, and may perhaps be

* In Ἐλαιοῦσσα. † In Σεβάστη.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 16. c. 4. Strabo, p. 671.

§ Xenoph. Exp. Cyr. l. 1. c. 4. Arrian, l. 2. c. 5. Q. Curt. l 3 c. 7. Dio. Cass. l. 36. c. 20. Liv. l. 33. c. 20.—l. 37. c. 56. Pompon. Mel. l. 1. c. 13. Ptol. l. 5. c. 8.

only a repair of an ancient Greek work. The other remains, the walls, aqueduct, theatre, temples, and the long colonnade on either side of the main street, were probably erected by Pompey, as they resemble the skeletons of Roman cities seen at Antinoe in Egypt, at Gerasa in Syria, and less perfectly in many other places.

(34) The most projecting point between the ruins of Soli and the mouth of the Tersús-tshai, or Cydnus, is the sandy cape at the mouth of the river of Mersín. This cape, therefore, is probably the ancient Zephyrium, though its distance from Tarsus is somewhat greater than that which the Stadiasmus gives between these two places, namely 120 stades. The Stadiasmus agrees with Hierocles in showing that there was a town as well as a cape of Zephyrium.

(35) We naturally look for Anchiale, the port of Tarsus, at the nearest part of the coast at which there is shelter for shipping, or at that from whence the maritime traffic of Tarsus is now carried on. The shore opposite to Kazalú and Karaduar is in both these predicaments; and between these two villages is a river answering to the Anchialeus *. Anchiale boasted of an antiquity equal to that of Tarsus; but as early as the time of Alexander the Great it retained only the vestiges of its former importance, in its massy and extensive walls †. A large mound, not far from the Anchialeus, with some other similar tumuli near the shore to the westward, are the remains, perhaps, of the works of the Assyrian founders of Anchiale, which probably derived its temporary importance from being the chief maritime station of the Assyrian monarchs in these seas.

(36) The Cydnus, instead of flowing through Tarsus, as in former times ‡, leaves the present city to the westward, and no longer forms the lake towards its mouth, which once served

* Stephan. in Ἀγχιάλη. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg.

† Arrian, l. 2. c. 5.

‡ Arrian, l. 2. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 5. Dionys. Perieg. v. 868.

as a naval arsenal to Tarsus. The alluvion of the river itself has converted this lake into a sandy plain.

Although Strabo has omitted to mention the Sarus in this place, there is sufficient proof that it was the modern Sihún, which enters the sea at a short distance to the S. E. of the Cydnus; for the town of A'dana, the district of which adjoined to that of Tarsus, still retains its ancient name and situation on the western bank of the Sihún *; the course of which river is traced upwards through mount Taurus into the plains of Cappadocia, exactly as Strabo describes the Sarus †.

(37) It is equally evident that the Ghihún is the Pyramus, whose origin, like the Sarus ‡, was in Cappadocia, from whence it flowed through the Taurus; for the Pyramus was the next river eastward of the Sarus §; and at Mensís, the Ghihún flows within 20 miles of the Sihún at Adana, without any intermediate river of magnitude between them; from thence it winds to the east, and joins the sea in the middle of the Issic gulf. The Ghihún is larger than any other river in Cilicia, as Strabo describes the Pyramus, and it has deposited a large tract of alluvial land at its mouth, which, however, has not increased so rapidly as the ancients had predicted.

(38) The great plain situated between the lower course of these two rivers and the sea was called Aleium. The only hill which it contains rises from the shore of the gulf of Iskenderun, and forms at its southern extremity the northern cape of that gulf under the name of Karadash. Here Captain Beaufort observed the vestiges of an ancient town. This I believe to have been

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* Dio. Cass. l. 47. c. 31. Procop. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 5. Stephan. in Ἄδανα.

† Διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης (scil. Comana) ὁ Σάρος ῥεῖ ποταμὸς καὶ διὰ τῶν συναγκειῶν τοῦ Ταύρου διεκπεραιοῦται πρὸς τὰ τῶν Κιλίκων πεδία καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον πέλαγος. p. 536. Comana is the modern Bostán.

‡ Strabo, ibid.

§ Xenoph. de Exp. Cyr. l. 1. c. 4. Ptolem. l. 5. c. 8. Procop. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 5.

Megarsus, and that Mallus was situated on another hill which rises from the eastern bank of the Pyramus near its mouth; for these two situations accord perfectly with the evidence which the ancients have left respecting the position of Megarsus and Mallus. 1. Megarsus was a sea-beaten hill in the neighbourhood of Mallus and the mouth of the Pyramus *, and Karadash is the only hill near the Aleian plain which borders the sea-coast. 2. Mallus was upon a height near the Pyramus, as Euphorion †, Scylax ‡, Strabo, Stephanus §, and Mela ||, all indicate, and not far from the sea-coast, as appears from its being noticed in the Periplus of Scylax, as well as in the Stadiasmus. 3. Strabo and Ptolemy agree in naming the Pyramus before Mallus in proceeding from west to east. 4. This position of Megarsus, the Pyramus, and Mallus, agrees perfectly with the proceedings of Alexander, as related by Strabo, Arrian, and Curtius ¶. Alexander having sent his horse under Philotas from Tarsus across the Aleian plain to the Pyramus, marched the infantry from Soli along the sea-coast to Megarsus; from whence, after having sacrificed to Minerva Megarsis, he proceeded to Mallus, which it appears that his army did not enter until they had thrown a bridge across the Pyramus.

It is further remarkable, in reference to the site of Mallus, that the sailing distance in the Stadiasmus from Mallus to

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* Stephan. in Μάγαρσος.

..... Πυράμου πρὸς ἐκβολαῖς
.....
Αἰπὺς δ' ἁλιῤῥὸς ὄχμος ἐν μεταιχμίῳ
Μέγαρσος. Lycophr. v. 439.

ἡ δὲ Μέγαρσος πόλις κεῖται πρὸς ταῖς ἐκχύσεσι τοῦ Πυράμου ποταμοῦ. Tzetzes in Schol. ibid.

περὶ Μάγαρσα τοῦ Πυράμου πλησίον. Strabo, p. 676. See the translated extract.

† Ap. Tzetz. in Lycoph. ubi sup.

‡ ποταμὸς Πύραμος καὶ πόλις Μαλλὸς, εἰς ἣν ἀνάπλους κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Scylax in Cilicia.

§ Steph. in Μάλλος. || Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 13.

¶ Arrian, l. 2. c. 5. —..... castris motis, et Pyramo amne ponte juncto, Mallon pervenit. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 7.

Soli, accords precisely with that of Artemidorus* from the Pyramus to Soli, namely 500 stades, which is very near the truth; and that the description which the Stadiasmus gives of the navigation is exactly confirmed by the form of the intermediate coast, namely, that it trended first to the southward, and then to the north-westward.

(39) Mopsuestia is represented to have stood on the Pyramus †. Its name under the Byzantine empire was corrupted to Mampsysta, or Mamista, or Mansista ‡; of which names the modern Mensís appears to be a further corruption. This town stands on the Ghihún, on the road from Baiás to A'dana, nearly at the distance from each at which the Jerusalem Itinerary places Mansista. The Peutinger Table, also, places Mopsuesta at 19 M. P. from A'dana. We cannot doubt, therefore, that Mensis occupies nearly, if not exactly, the site of the ancient city of Mopsus.

Above this place, on the same river, stood Anazarba, or Cæsareia at Mount Anazarbus, which has probably preserved some remains of antiquity, as it was the capital of the second or eastern Cilicia about the fifth century, Tarsus being at that time the metropolis of the western §.

To the north-eastward of Ægæ was Epiphaneia ||, one day's march from Mount Amanus ¶, on the road from Alexandria to Anazarbus**, which probably branched from the road to Mopsuestia, not far from the Amanic gates. In the mountains

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* Ap. Strabon. p. 675. See the translated extract.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 27. Stephan. in Μόψου ἐστία. Procop. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 5.

‡ Cod. Theodos.

ἡ Μάμιστα ἡ καὶ Μόψου ἐστία λεγομένη. M. Glycæ Annal. p. 306. Paris.

Civitas Adana, 18 M.P. Civitas Mansista 48 M.P. Mansio Baiæ. —Itin. Hierosol.

§ Hierocl. Synecd.

|| Appian Mithridat. c. 96.—Epiphania quæ anteà Eniandus. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 27. Ptolem. l. 5. c. 8. Hierocl. Synecd.

¶ Cicero ad Div. l. 15. ep. 4. ** Tab. Peutinger, seg. 7.

above Epiphania and Anazarbus towards Cappadocia were Pindenissus and Tibara, two strong towns of the Eleuthero-Cilices which were taken by Cicero*. Castabalum, placed by the Itineraries about 16 M.P. from Baiæ, and about 26 from Ægæ, appears from Curtius to have been very near the Pylæ Amanides, on the northern side †. According to the Table, Issus was 5 M.P. to the southward of Castabalum.

Below Mopsuestia, between that place and Mallus, there appears to have been a town upon the Pyramus called Antiocheia; for besides the evidence which the Stadiasmus affords of this fact, we find it exactly confirmed by Stephanus, who mentions it as one of ten cities of that name ‡.

The Seretila, which the Stadiasmus places between Mallus and Ægæ, is probably an error for Serrepolis, which name is inserted by Ptolemy § in the same situation; and this conjecture is in some measure confirmed by the genitive Σερετίλλεως, in which form the Stadiasmus afterwards mentions the same name, and which nearly approaches to Σερρεπόλεως.

I shall not pretend to explain the Stadiasmus any further, or to justify its distances, some of which may, however, be found accurate, when a better knowledge of the real geography and of the ancient sites shall have illustrated its meaning. With such a multitude of verbal and literal errors, we cannot be surprised at finding many of the numbers also inaccurate. It may be observed, however, that of the three distances which the author has drawn across the gulf of Issus,—namely, from Myriandrus to Ægæ, from Rhosus to Serrepolis, and from the Rhosic rock (now cape Hanzír) to Antiocheia on the Pyramus,—the two latter seem to be tolerably near the truth.

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* Cicer. ubi supra. † Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 7.

‡ Ἀντιόχεια ..... ἕκτη Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυράμου. Stephan. in Ἀντιόχεια.

§ Μάλλος, Σερρέπολις, Αἴγαι, Ἰσσός. Ptolem. l. 5. c. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

SOME REMARKS ON THE COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY OF THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN PARTS OF ASIA MINOR.

Principal places in Peræa Rhodia—in Doris—in Caria—in the valley of the Mæander—in the valley of the Caystrus—on the coast of Ionia—in the valleys of the Hermus and Caicus, and in the adjacent country—in Troas—in Bithynia—in Paphlagonia.

It remains to submit to the reader some observations in justification of the ancient names in the western and northern parts of the map which accompanies the present volume. It will not be necessary to enter into this part of the subject so fully as into those which have already been under consideration. The western provinces, in consequence of their celebrity and greater advantages of climate, soil, and situation, have been more fully described, both by ancient and modern writers; so that, in conducting the reader to the results recorded on the map, a general reference on the one hand to the travellers whose routes are there marked, and on the other to the ancient historians, geographers, and itineraries, will be sufficient. In those instances only, it may be necessary to be more particular, where the ancient positions are determined by less obvious authorities or by unpub-

lished documents, or where the question is rendered doubtful by deficient or conflicting evidence. As to the north-eastern part of the peninsula, we must be contented with a brief notice of its geography, for a reason the reverse of that which induces me to abridge the geographical notice of the provinces bordering on the Ægæan sea. The distance of Paphlagonia and Eastern Bithynia from the centre of Grecian civilization, and the little attention which those countries have received from ancient history, have hardly tempted a single traveller to trust himself among their barbarous tribes, or to explore their mountains and forests; and hence the evidences of the geography of that country, both ancient and modern, are extremely imperfect.

I shall begin from the western extremity of Captain Beaufort's Survey, and shall proceed to the westward and northward from the same point at which the remarks of the preceding chapter set out in the opposite direction. It so happens that Dædala is precisely the point at which Strabo also changes the course of his observations; and from which, after describing the coast of Caria with the adjacent islands and continent in a western direction, he proceeds, as we have seen in the translated extract at the beginning of the last chapter, to direct his description of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, from west to east.

Captain Beaufort not having surveyed any part of the coast between Telmissus and Halicarnassus,

excepting that near Cnidus; and no traveller having pretended to publish a delineation of it, except M. de Choiseul Gouffier, whose map is too obviously incorrect, both in construction and in detail, to merit much attention; this part of the coast-line of Asia is more subject to a suspicion of inaccuracy than any other. The important positions of Rhodus, Cnidus, Cos, and Halicarnassus, are indeed ascertained by the observations of Captain Beaufort, and I have derived some assistance from a few measurements taken with the compass and sextant from the same places, by Sir William Gell; but no reliance can yet be placed on the outline of the gulfs of Syme and Kos: even the extent of those magnificent bays is very uncertain, and nothing is known of the situation of the numerous towns and islands placed in them by the ancient authors, especially by Pliny: in short, the exploring of these two gulfs with that of the coast in the vicinity of Caunus, is now one of the most interesting desiderata in the geography of Asia Minor.

Strabo * describes Peræa as beginning at the fort and mountain Dædala, near Telmissus, and as ending at mount Phœnix, both places included. "Next to the gulf Glaucus occurs the cape and temple Artemisium, and then the grove of Latona; above which, 60 stades inland, is the city Calynda, then Caunus, a city with docks and a closed port;

* Strabo, p. 651, 655, 664, 665.

and near it the Calbis, navigable by boats. Between Caunus and the Calbis is Pisilis; and on a height above Caunus is a fort named Imbrus. The next place on the coast to Caunus is Physcus, a small city which has a harbour and a grove of Latona; then the rugged coast of Loryma, the highest mountain above which is named Phœnix, and has a castle of the same name on its summit. Before this coast lies Elæussa, 4 stades from the sea, 8 stades in circumference, and 120 stades distant from Rhodus. Beyond Loryma is the cape Cynossema and the island Syme."

As it appears from another passage in Strabo *, where he cites Artemidorus, that the common road from this coast to the northward, was from Physcus by Alabanda and Tralles, there seems little doubt that Physcus was at Mármara, which is still the usual place of debarkation from Ródos to those going towards Ghiuzel-hissár and Smyrna.

The distances of Elæussa and port Cressa from Rhodus, as given by Strabo and Pliny †, are sufficiently accurate to identify those two places. The excellent harbour of Cressa is now called Aplothíka

* Strabo, p. 663. Strabo has committed a great error in stating that Physcus was the nearest point of the coast to My'lasa. The gulf of Kos is not one-third of the distance of Marmara from Mylasa.

† Caria mediæ Doridi circumfunditur ad mare utroque latere ambiens: in ea promontorium Pedalium, amnis Glaucus deferens Telmissum; oppida Dædala, Crya fugitivorum: flumen

by the Greeks, and Porto Cavaliere by the Italians, and on its western shore are the ruins of a Hellenic fortress and town, which are undoubtedly those of Loryma; for Loryma is called a city by Seneca * and Stephanus, although not so designated by Strabo or by Pliny; and port Loryma is described by Livy as being opposite to Rhodus †, at a little more than the distance ‡ which Pliny assigns to Cressa. The order of names on this coast in Ptolemy § is in exact agreement with the other authorities which I have cited in proof of their position, as marked on the map, if we suppose his cape Onugnatus to be the same as the Cynosema of Strabo.

Although Choisseul Gouffier must have nearly crossed the sites of Dædala and Calynda, he did not ascertain the position of either of them: nor has that of Caunus, the chief city of Peræa, yet been explored. The promontory called by Strabo Artemisium, from the temple of Diana which

Axon: oppidum Calydna * * oppidum Caunos liberum; deinde Pyrnos, portus Cressa a quo Rhodus insula xx M.; locus Loryma. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 27.

Here Pyrnus occupies the place of Physcus, which ought perhaps to be substituted for the former word.

* Senec. Qu. Nat. l. 3. c. 19.

† Liv. l. 37. c. 17.

‡ viginti paullo amplius millia. Liv. l. 45. c. 10.

§ Κνίδος πόλις καὶ ἄκρα, Ὀνουγνάθος ἄκρα· Λώρυμα, Κρῆσσα λίμην, Φοίνιξ, Φοῦσκα, Κάλβιος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ, Καῦνος, Κάλινδα, Χύδαι, Καρύα, Δαίδαλα τόπος, Τέλμησσος. Ptol. l. 5 c. 2. 3.

stood upon it, appears to have been the same as the Pedalium of Pliny and the Stadiasmus, and to be the cape now called Bokomadhi.

The Clydæ, which the Stadiasmus * names between Pedalium and Crua (Crya) is evidently the same as the Chydæ, which Ptolemy places a little to the westward of Crya, and Crya is undoubtedly the Cryassus of Stephanus and Plutarch †. We are not surprised at finding in the modern town of Ródos an inscription ‡, in which Cryassus and Chalce (the island still called Khalki) are alluded to, both these places having been dependencies of the Rhodian republic. The islands off the coast

* Λοιπόν Καρία.

Ἐκ Τελμενσσοῦ εἰς Δαίδαλα σταδ. ν. (50.)

Ἐκ Δαιδάλων εἰς Καλλιμάχην σταδ. ν. (50.)

Ἐκ Καλλιμάχης εἰς Κρούαν σταδ. ξ. (60.)

Ἐκ Κρούων εἰς τὸν Κοχλίαν σταδ. ν. (50.)

Ἐκ Κλυδῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Πηδάλιον ἀκρωτήριον σταδ. λ. (30)

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηδαλίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Γλαυκοῦ σταδ. π. (80.)

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος ἐπὶ τῶν Κουνίων (lege Καυνίων) Πάνορμον σταδ. ρκ. (120.)

200 stades from Pedalium to Panormus of the Caunii is nearly the real distance from cape Bokomádhi to port Karagatsh, and renders it probable that the latter was the ancient Panormus, a name which well applies to that fine basin. Its having been a part of the territory of the Caunii, may perhaps account for other authorities having omitted to mention it.

† Plutarch. de Virt. Mul.

‡ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΧΑΛΚΙΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
ΚΑΕΑΙΝΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ
ΚΡΥΑΣΣΙΔΟΣ.

of Dædala and Crya are noticed by Pliny *, who says there were two belonging to the Dædalenses; and three, two of which are by Stephanus † named Alina and Carysis, belonging to the Cryenses.

In consequence of our ignorance of the actual topography of the gulfs of Doris and Ceramus, I have not attempted to place any of their towns, even conjecturally, except Euthenæ, which is stated by Mela ‡ to have been in a bay between Cnidus and the Ceramic gulf: Bargasa and Ceramus are described by Strabo § as being near the sea, between Cnidus and Halicarnassus; and Passala, an island in the same gulf, was the port of the Mylassenses ||. The modern name Kéramo, which, if it exists, identifies the site of Ceramus, rests, I believe, solely upon the authority of D'Anville.

The Dorian colonies from the Peloponnesus, which settled in Halicarnassus, Cnidus, Cos, and in the three cities of Rhodus, introduced the use of Doric architecture, and of the Doric dialect, into this angle of Caria. Remains of Doric buildings are found at Lindus, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus ¶;

* Plin. l. 5. c. 31.

† Stephan. in Κρύα.—Stephanus has distinguished Crya from Cryassus, ascribing the former to Lycia and the latter to Caria, copying Artemidorus for the former, and Plutarch for the latter. The distinction is probably an error; unless Crya was the old site, and that the other was the new Cryassus mentioned by Plutarch.

‡ Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 16. § Strabo, p. 656.

|| Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 31. Stephanus in Πάσσαλα.

¶ At Lindus are the ruins of a dodecastyle Doric portico in front of a cavern, at Cnidus there is a Doric stoa, and at

and inscriptions in the Doric dialect have been found in most of the cities of the Hexapolis. It appears that they had not neglected the latter mark of their origin in the early ages of the Roman empire *.

Halicarnassus are the ruins of a large Doric temple, supposed by Choiseul Gouffier, who has published a design of it, to have been the temple of Mars mentioned by Vitruvius.

It is not to be supposed that the people of the Hexapolis confined themselves to Doric architecture, being so near the country where the Ionic originated and was brought to perfection. At all the three places just mentioned, but particularly at Cnidus, we find examples of the other orders.

Cnidus formed one of the most important objects of the late mission of the Society of Dilettanti. There is hardly any ruined Greek city in existence which contains examples of Greek architecture in so many different branches. There are still to be seen remains of the city walls, of two closed ports, of several temples, of stoæ, of artificial terraces for the public and private buildings, of three theatres, one of which is 400 feet in diameter, and of a great number of sepulchral monuments. Designs of the most important of these curious remains are about to be published by the Society of Dilettanti.

* The following is an inscription at Cnidus:

Α ΒΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΑΜΟΣ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΙΗΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΝ
ΝΕΙΚΑΔΑ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ-
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ. ΜΑΡ. ΑΥΡ. ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ ΔΙΣ
ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ-
ΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙ-
ΟΥΡΓΟΥ, ΑΡΕΤΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΑ
ΚΕΚΟΣΜΑΙΜΕΝΑΝ, ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΣΑΝ
ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΣ, ΤΑΝ ΤΕΙ-
ΜΑΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΑΣ ΚΑΘ Α ΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ
ΥΠΕΣΧΕΤΟ
ΘΕΟΙΣ.

In a fragment of another Doric inscription at Cnidus, men-

The conversion into a peninsula of the island on which Strabo and Stephanus represent Jasus (now Asy´n Kale) to have stood, is probably a remote effect of the encroachments of the Mæander upon the sea. We find another instance of the same kind at Caryanda: for there can be little doubt that the large *peninsula*, towards the western end of which is the fine harbour called by the Turks Pasha Limáni, is the ancient *island* of Caryanda, now joined to the main by a narrow sandy isthmus. Pasha Limáni (the port of the Pasha) is the *harbour* of Caryanda, noticed by Strabo, Scylax, and Stephanus; its position ac-

tion is again made of the officer called δαμιουργὸς; also of a γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν πενταετηρικὸς held at Cnidus. It was, probably, for these quinquennial celebrations, common, no doubt, to all the surrounding country, that the great theatre at Cnidus was principally intended.

In an inscription copied by Chandler (Ins. Ant. p. 19), at Iasus (Asy´n Kale), we find a decree of the Calymnii cited at length. This decree is in the Doric dialect, whereas that of the Iasenses which contains it is in common Hellenic. We are informed by Herodotus (l. 7. c. 99.) that the islands Calydniæ, of which Calymna was the chief, were colonized from Epidaurus; they were consequently included (as was Nisyrus likewise) among the Dorians of the Hexapolis.

In Mitylene I found several inscriptions, shewing that the use of the Æolic dialect was preserved to a late period in that island, which was colonized from Thessaly: the most remarkable form is ΒΟΛΛΑ for ΒΟΥΛΗ, and ΒΟΛΛΕΥΤΑΣ for ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΣ.

Pococke has given copies (very inaccurately as usual) of

cording with that of the other places along this coast, as described by Strabo. "Next to Halicarnassus," he says, "is Termerium, a cape of the Myndii, opposite to cape Scandaria of Cos. * * * Proceeding towards Myndus are the capes Astypalæa and Zephyrium; and immediately beyond the latter, the city Myndus, with a harbour; then Bargylia, also a city, between which and Myndus is the harbour and the island of Caryanda*. Near Bargylia is the temple of Diana Cindyas. Next occurs Iasus."

We can hardly doubt that Myndus stood in the small sheltered port of Gumishlú, where Captain Beaufort remarked the remains of an ancient pier at the entrance of the port, and some ruins at the head of the bay. The cape to the southward of this port will consequently be Zephyrium; and it

some of these inscriptions (Inscr. Antiq. p. 45); and one is to be seen in Gruter, p. 1091.

In reference to the use of the Doric dialect by the colonies of that race of Greeks, it may be worthy of remark that the Greek inscription of the time of Psammetichus king of Egypt, lately discovered by Mr. W. Bankes on the temple of Ibsambal in Nubia, appears from the words Ψαματιχο Ἐλεφαντιναν, and τοι for οἱ, to be in the Doric dialect. Herodotus tells us that the Greeks in the service of Psammetichus were Ionians and Carians: those who inscribed the temple of Ibsambal may therefore have been from the Carian Doris. It was perhaps in memory of these first Greek settlers in Upper Egypt that the Greeks of the Thebais often used the Doric dialect as late as the time of the Roman emperors.

* Pliny also (Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 31.) numbers Caryanda among the islands.

is not improbable that the ruins which the same traveller observed at Kadí Kálesi, in a bay on the south side of that cape, are those of a small ancient town of the same name, which has not been noticed by the ancient authors.

Such having been the situation of Myndus and of Caryanda, Bargylia (called Andanus * in the Carian language) should be sought for on the coast between Pasha Limáni and Asy'n Kálesi: this position, it may be added, agrees with that which Mela † ascribes to Bargylia, as well as with the fact that the gulf of Iasus was often called the gulf of Bargylia ‡.

Of the interior cities of Caria, Stratoniceia is shown to have been at Eskihissár, by the important ruins which have given rise to the modern name, in conjunction with an inscription § found there,

* Stephan. in Βάργυλα. Const. Porph. de Them. l. 1. th. 14.

† ..... sinus Iasius et Basilicus. In Iasio est Bargylos. Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 16.

‡ Liv. l. 37. c. 17. Stephan. in Βάργυλα. Constant. Porph. ubi supr.

§ Chishull, Antiq. Asiat. p. 155.—This inscription was copied at Eski-hissár in 1709, by the celebrated botanist Sherard, then British Consul at Smyrna. He also copied at the same place, a long Latin inscription, containing a list of the prices of various commodities, as regulated by one of the Roman emperors—which has recently been excavated and more completely transcribed by Mr. W. Bankes. Sherard presented to the Earl of Oxford a volume containing copies of between three and four hundred inscriptions collected by him in Asia Minor. This MS. is now in the British Museum. Catal. Harl. Cod. 7509.

which relates to Jupiter Chrysaoreus, the deity particularly worshipped at Stratoniceia.

The names of Lagina and Mylasa still subsist, slightly corrupted. Of the latter city there are many remains; but that which constituted its most remarkable antiquity in the time of Pococke, the temple of Rome and Augustus, was destroyed about the middle of the last century by the Turks, who built a new mosque with the materials *.

The situation of Alabanda is still doubtful; and the ancient testimony on that of Labranda is so much connected with it, that the same uncertainty prevails as to the site of the latter. The following is the substance of what Strabo says of these places:

Labranda was a dependency of Mylasa, distant from thence 68 stades, and situated in the mountain over which lay the route from Mylasa to Alabanda. As far as Labranda there was a paved road, which, as leading to the temple of Jupiter Stratius, (otherwise named Labrandenus,) was called the Sacred Way †. Alabanda stood at the foot of a hill with a double summit, which resembled an ass bearing a pack-saddle. It was situated near a very winding

* Pococke, vol. 2. part 2. c. 6. Chandler, Asia Minor, c. 56.

† Τὰ δὲ Λάβρανδα κώμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἀλαβάνδων εἰς τὰ Μύλασα, ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως· ἐνταῦθα Διός ἐστι νεὼς ἀρχαῖος καὶ ξόανον Διὸς Στρατίου. τιμᾶται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυλασέων· ὁδός τε ἔστρωται σχεδόν τι ὀκτὼ

river, and its territory was separated by a ridge of hills from that of Mylasa *.

Pococke and Chandler supposed Alabanda to have been at Karpúsli, where they found sepulchres and the remains of public buildings, of a theatre, and of town walls; and Chandler was the first to describe the ruins (at Iakli, not far to the southward of Kizeljik or Mendeliat,) of a small fortified town containing a theatre, and a ruined temple of the Corinthian order, of which 16 columns of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, with a part of the entablature, were standing in the year 1776. This, Chandler supposed to have been the temple of Jupiter of Labranda †. M. de Choiseul Gouffier ‡ and M. Barbié du Bocage § were of a different opinion. Without pretending to determine the position of Alabanda, they agreed in thinking that the ruins at

καὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίων μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ καλουμένη δι' ἧς πομποστολεῖται τὰ ἱερά. Strabo, p. 659.

Ælian (de Nat. Anim. l. 12. c. 30.) says that 70 stades was the distance between Alabanda and Mylasa.

* Ἀλάβανδα δὲ καὶ αὕτη μὲν ὑπόκειται λόφοις δυσὶ συγκειμένοις οὕτως, ὥστ' ὄψιν παρέχεσθαι κανθηλίου κατεστραμμένου * * * μεστὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ αὕτη καὶ ἡ τῶν Μυλασέων πόλις τῶν θηρίων τούτων (σκορπίων) καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ πᾶσα ὀρεινή.

Strabo, p. 660.

. . . . . πολλὰς δὲ (διαβάσεις τῇ αὐτῇ ὁδῷ ἔχει) καὶ (ὁ ποταμὸς) ὁ ἐκ Κοσκινίων εἰς Ἀλάβανδα. Strabo, p. 587.

† Antiquities of Ionia, part 1. c. 4. Chandler, Asia Minor, c. 58.

‡ Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, c. 11.

§ Voyage de Chandler, tom. 2. p. 248.

Iakli are those of Euromus, which we know from Polybius and Livy * to have been one of the most important places in this part of the country, at the time of the Roman wars; and from Strabo, to have been situated, as the ruins at Iakli are, near the eastern extremity of Mount Grium †. It appears, moreover, from a coin of the emperor Caracalla ‡, that the Jupiter of Euromus had considerable celebrity; to him, therefore, the existing temple may have been sacred, and not to Jupiter of Labranda: in favour of which opinion, it may be added that the temple of Labranda was noted for its antiquity, whereas the architecture at Iakli is of Roman times.

On the other hand, it may be remarked that the distance of Iakli from Mylasa agrees tolerably with the 68 or 70 stades between that place and Labranda; that supposing Alabanda to have been at Karpúsli, the direction of Iakli from Mylasa is not much to the left of a line drawn from thence to Karpúsli: and that the deviation is a natural consequence of the projection westward of the range of hills, a part of which overhangs the temple at Iakli.

There are some reasons, however, for thinking

* Polyb. l. 17. c. 2.—l. 18. c. 27.—l. 30. c. 5. Liv. l. 33. c. 30.—l. 45. c. 25.

† τὸ Γρίον . . . . . παράλληλον τῷ Λάτμῳ, ἀνῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλησίας πρὸς ἕω, διὰ τῆς Καρίας μέχρι Εὐρώμου καὶ Χαλκητόρων. Strabo, p. 635.

‡ Vaillant Num. Græc. Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet. Caria.

that Alabanda was not at Karpúsli, but at Arabissár. 1. Pococke describes the ancient remains at Arabissár as consisting of town-walls, a theatre, and a large oblong Roman building with windows, which appeared to him to have been intended for public assemblies: he adds that the city occupied the slope and foot of two hills. Now the two hills accord with Strabo's description of Alabanda; and the oblong building may have belonged to the Roman conventus of which Alabanda was the chief town *. 2. The river Tshina, near Arabissár, accords extremely well with the river upon which Alabanda was situated; as do the mountains which separate its valley from the plain of Mylasa, with the geographer's words, ἡ μεταξὺ ὀρεινή, relating to the mountain between Mylasa and Alabanda.— 3. The other words of Strabo, descriptive of the situation of the temple, ἐν τῷ ὄρει, and of the road which led to Labranda from Mylasa, tend to show that the temple was on a mountain, and that the road thither did not lead through a plain like that from Mylasa to Iakli. It may be added, 4. that the ancient gate at Mylasa, upon which Chandler observed the figure of a hatchet, the symbol of Jupiter Labrandenus, and from which he inferred that it was the gate leading to Labranda, does not open towards Iakli, but faces the east towards the

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.

mountain and Arabissár *. Upon the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that Alabanda was at Arabissár, and Euromus at Iakli; and that the vestiges of Labranda will hereafter be found on the mountain to the north-eastward of Mylasa. The ancient remains at Karpúsli are perhaps those of Orthosia. This was a place of some importance; and we know that it was situated in the country to the southward of the Mæander, opposite to Tralles and Nysa; that it was not far from Coscinia †, and that Coscinia was upon the same river as Alabanda ‡.

If Alabanda was at Arabissár, Tshina, where Pococke § found considerable remains, may be the site of Coscinia, and its modern name may possibly be a corruption of the ancient.

M. Barbié du Bocage || has with great reason supposed that the river of Tshina was the branch of the Mæander called Marsyas by Herodotus ¶. The historian describes the Marsyas as flowing from the country of Idrias into the Mæander; and

* Chandler, Asia Minor, c. 56.

† ....περίκεινται δὲ ἀξιόλογοι κατοικίαι πέραν τοῦ Μαιάνδρου, Κοσκινία καὶ Ὀρθωσία. Strabo, p. 650.

‡ Strabo, p. 587. vide supra.

§ Pococke, vol. 2. part 2. c. 9.—It is impossible from Pococke's confused narrative to understand either the exact course of the river Tshina, or the position of the places in its vicinity. The attempt to describe them on the map must therefore be considered as a mere approximation.

|| Voyage de Chandler, tome 2. p. 252.

¶ Herodot. l. 5. c. 118.

he relates that the Persians under Daurises having met the revolted Carians not far from the junction of the two streams, the Carians were defeated, and retired to Labranda, where they took up a position in the sacred grove, and were joined by the Milesii and others of their allies. They were defeated a second time, and the Persians continued to advance into Caria, until the Carians, attacking the invaders by night on the road to Pedasus, were in their turn victorious, and slew Daurises and several others of the Persian leaders. It is evident that the Marsyas of which the historian here speaks was a Carian river, totally different from the stream or fountain of the same name at Celænæ, the course of which was not longer than that city itself *. Idrias was one of the earlier names of the city, which under the Macedonians assumed the name of Stratoniceia, and its territory included Lagina, celebrated for a temple of Hecate †. The latter place still preserves its ancient name, and not far from it are the sources of the Tshina. It may be further observed, in confirmation of the identity of this river with the Marsyas of Herodotus, that the retreat of the Carians

* See above, chapter 4. p. 159.

† Strabo, p. 660. Stephan. in Ἑκατησία, Ἰδριὰς, Χρυσάορις. All these were ancient names of Stratoniceia. In consequence of some restorations by Hadrian, it afterwards received that of Hadrianopolis, but did not long retain the appellation. See Hierocles Synec. The worship of Hecate is mentioned in the inscription of Stratoniceia, published by Chishull.

from its valley into the hills to the westward was a very natural movement, and perfectly conformable with the other circumstances of these transactions.

In opposition to the placing of Alabanda at Arabissár will perhaps be adduced the distances on the road which led from Physcus by Tralles to Smyrna, as stated by Artemidorus, and preserved by Strabo*. These distances are from Physcus to Lagina 850 stades, to Alabanda 250, to the Mæander, which was the boundary of Caria, 80, to Tralles 80, to Magnesia 140, to Ephesus 120, to Smyrna 320,—total from Physcus to Tralles 1260, from Tralles to Smyrna 580. The numbers from Tralles to Smyrna agree tolerably well with the reality: but it is sufficient to refer for a moment to the map, to perceive how totally unworthy of credit those on the road from Physcus to Tralles must be, both in the aggregate and in detail. The 1260 stades are represented on the map by only 60 geographical miles in direct distance, making more than 20 stades to a mile. Instead of 850 stades from Physcus to Lagina, there could not have been with all the windings of the road more than 300; nor are there more than 50, instead of 80, from the Mæander to the ruins of Tralles. The evidence of position derived from this passage may therefore be rejected, except inasmuch as it shows that Alabanda lay in the road from Physcus to Tralles.

* Strabo, p. 663.

The second-rate places of Caria, dependent upon the chief cities of the coast, or upon the three great towns of the interior, were Euromus, Chalcetor, Heracleia, and Amyzon *.

As Mount Grium extended from the Milesia eastward to Chalcetor and Euromus †, Chalcetor would perhaps be found, supposing Euromus to have been at Iakli, at the foot of the mountain which lies between that place and Asy'n Ká-lesi.

The Heracleia mentioned by Strabo among the four smaller towns of the interior of Caria, is not the same as the Heracleia under Mount Latmus which he describes elsewhere, for this was a maritime town. It must therefore be the same which Ptolemy distinguishes from Heracleia of Latmus (πρὸς Λάτμῳ) by the name of Heracleia of Albanum (πρὸς Ἀλβάνῳ). Whether Albanum was the name of a river or mountain it is difficult to say;—but the traveller might perhaps seek for the site of this Heracleia, with some prospect of success, in the situation in which it stands in the enumeration of the towns of this country by Pliny ‡, namely, between Euromus and Amyzon.

The ruins of the citadel and town-walls of Amyzon are to be seen on the eastern side of Mount

* Strabo, p. 658.

† Strabo, p. 635. See p. 232, note †.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.

Latmus on the road from Bafi to Tchisme, one hour short of the latter, and a little above some villages called Kafaslár. Mr. Hamilton here copied an inscription in a very defective state of preservation, of which however some of the expressions are distinguishable. Towards the beginning I observe AMYTONEΩN and XAIPEIN. When the letters of the inscription were perfect, the former word was undoubtedly AMYΞONEΩN, and it proves that these remains belonged to Amyzon *. Mixed with Hellenic ruins, there are others at this place, of the date of the Byzantine empire,—a circumstance which agrees with the mention made of Amyzon among the places of Caria in Hierocles, and in the list of Greek bishoprics.

The city of Latmus or Heracleia at Mount Latmus has preserved considerable remains of its

* The form of the letters in this inscription seems to show that its date is about the time of the first wars of the Romans in Asia. It was an epistle addressed to the Amyzonenses by some person in power: beginning with the usual form of salutation, and ending with the no less customary EPPΩΣΘE. In the Classical Journal, No. 28, the reader will find an inscription nearly of the same tenor and date, which I copied at Cyretiæ in Perrhœbia, and which was an epistle addressed to the people of that place by the Consul Titus Quinctius Flamininus, when he commanded the Roman army in Greece against the king of Macedonia, Philip son of Demetrius. In the inscription of Amyzon, besides the two words already stated, I distinguish TO IEPON ACYΛON—BAΣIΛEΩΣ EYNOIAN—KAI MHΘENI ENOXΛEIN ΥMAΣ.

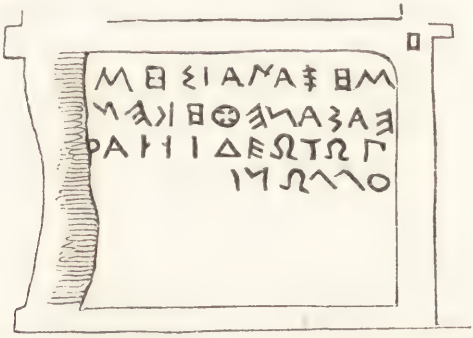
walls, together with many sepulchres and a small temple. These ruins are found at the foot of a rocky mountain, the ancient Latmus, on the shore of a lake, which takes its name from the village of Báfi near the eastern extremity. This lake is the Latmic Gulf described by Strabo *, but which since his time has been separated from the sea by the new plain formed at the mouth of the Mæander. Chandler, not adverting to this remarkable change, mistook the lake of Báfi for that of Myus, and consequently the ruins of Heracleia for those of Myus—an error which was corrected by M. de Choiseul Gouffier. With this adjustment, and the undoubted land-marks afforded by the fine ruins of Priene at Samsún †, and by the

* Having described Miletus and the islands before it, Lade and the Tragææ, now heights in the plain, he adds : ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Λατμικὸς κόλπος ἐν ᾧ Ἡράκλεια ἡ ὑπὸ Λάτμῳ λεγομένη, πολίχνιον ὕφορμον ἔχον· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Λάτμος ὁμωνύμως τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ ὄρει. Strabo, p. 635.

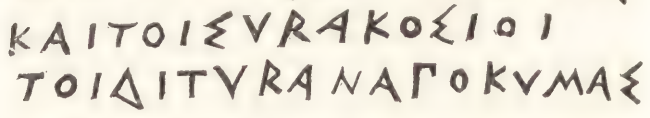
† A re-examination of the ruins of Priene and Branchidæ was a principal object of the second Asiatic Mission of the Society of Dilettanti. Their late publication renders it unnecessary for me to make any observations on the great monuments at those two places : but the reader will not be displeased at my here inserting a curious inscription, in Boustrophedon, from Branchidæ. It was copied by Sir W. Gell from the chair of a sitting statue on the Sacred Way, or road leading from the sea to the temple of Apollo Didymeus. This road—bordered on either side with statues on chairs of a single block of stone, with the feet close together and the hands on the knees—is an exact imitation of the avenues of the temples in Egypt. The inscrip-

theatre of Miletus at Palátia, we have accurate data for judging of the progress of the encroach-

tion (which is perfect to the right and incomplete to the left) is as follows:



The name at the beginning was probably Hermesianax. It appears by ἡμεὰς (Ion. for ἡμὰς *us*) ἀνέθηκεν, that the inscribed statue speaks for them all. The word at the beginning of line 3 may possibly be ΒΡΑΝΚΙΔΕΩ. Of the *crasis* instanced in ΤΩΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ, there are several examples in the Sigeian inscription, in the Eleian tablet, and in other monuments of a time when the Greeks wrote rather by sound than grammar. It seems to have been particularly at the end of inscriptions that the Greek ear required an agreeable cadence and combination of vowel sounds; and hence their inscriptions sometimes ended in metre, although the former part was not constructed by any such rules. Thus the last line of the following Doric inscription on a helmet lately found at Olympia appears to be the end of a hexameter verse: a supposition which will account for the crasis or omission of two of the vowels.



Ἱέρων ὁ Δεινομένεος καὶ οἱ Συρακουσίοι τῷ Διὶ Τυρρηνὰ ἀπὸ Κύμης.

The

ments of the Mæander upon the sea, as well as for determining the sites of the two towns of Pyrrha and Myus, the situation of which relatively to Miletus is accurately described by Strabo *.

The reader has perceived that in the question

The single instead of double liquid in TVRANA, seems to have been not uncommon in the old Doric—we have ΑΛΑΛΟΙΣ for ἀλλήλοις in the Eleian tablet.

This curious inscription relates to a military expedition of Hiero king of Syracuse, son of Deinomenes, (commonly called Hiero the First,) in aid of the people of Cyme, who had suffered severely from the Tyrrhenian fleet. (Diod. l. 11. c. 51.) The triremes of Hiero gained a brilliant victory and destroyed a great number of Tyrrhenian ships; and the helmet seems to have been among the *Tyrrhenian spoils* which upon this occasion Hiero and his Syracusans dedicated at Olympia. A few years before this exploit, the same prince had obtained a victory in the Olympic games, which the first Ode of Pindar has made more illustrious than the historian Diodorus has rendered his triumph over the Tyrrhenians: though the poet alludes also to the latter victory. (Pyth. 1. v. 137.) Pausanias, who has described (Eliac. post. c. 12. Arcad. c. 42.) the magnificent dedications of Deinomenes the son of Hiero, in honour of his father's three victories in the Olympic games, says nothing of the offerings of Hiero after his success over the Tyrrhenians: but so numerous were these martial dedications at Olympia, that the omission is not surprising. Pausanias had enough to do to describe the great monuments of art and religion.

* .... ἀφ' Ἡρακλείας ἐπὶ Πύρραν πολίχνην πλοῦς ἑκατόν που σταδίων. Μικρὸν δὲ πλέον τὸ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐγκολπίζοντι· εὐθυπλοία δ' εἰς Πύρραν ἐκ Μιλήτου τριάκοντα· τοσαύτην ἔχει μακροπορίαν ὁ παρὰ γῆν πλοῦς .... Ἐκ δὲ Πύρρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πεντήκοντα .... ἀναπλεύσαντι δ' ὑπηρετικοῖς σκάφεσι τριάκοντα σταδίους πόλις Μυοῦς .... Ἔνθεν ἐν σταδίοις τέσσαρσι κώμη Καρικὴ Θυμβρία παρ' ἣν Ἄορνόν ἐστι

concerning the site of Alabanda, that of Tralles has been assumed to have been at Ghiuzel-hissár. It is now time to show that Smith, as well as Pococke and Chandler, who too blindly followed the opinion of Smith, were wrong in supposing that town to stand on the site of Magnesia—an error which infallibly led to others of equal importance. M. Barbié du Bocage in the notes to his translation of Chandler gave convincing reasons for thinking that Ghiuzel-hissár occupied the position of Tralles: but it was not until Mr. Hamilton explored the ruins of Magnesia at Inekbazar*, and discovered the ruins

σπήλαιον ἱερὸν Χαρώνειον λεγόμενον. . . . . Ὑπέρκειται δὲ Μαγνησία ἡ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ . . . . Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ὁ κατὰ Πριήνην ἐστὶν αἰγιαλός· ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δ' ἡ Πριήνη καὶ ἡ Μυκάλη τὸ ὄρος &c. Strabo, p. 636. I have inserted this passage, as giving, when compared with the actual topography, the clearest idea of the situation of the ancient places and the state of the coast in the time of Strabo. The plain of the Mæander as it advanced upon the sea, and converted the commercial shores of the maritime cities into unhealthy marshes, successively devoted them to desolation. Myus in the time of Strabo had recently been abandoned by its inhabitants, who had removed to Miletus; but the accumulations had not yet shut up the Latmic Gulf. Such having been the causes of the desolation of the ancient sites near the mouth of the Mæander, they are never likely to be reoccupied. In the Voyage Pittoresque of Choiseul Gouffier, vol. i. pl. 111., will be found plans by Kauffer and Barbié du Bocage, explanatory of the progressive increase of the Mæandrian plain and the consequent changes in the topography.

* Inekbazar was visited by Van Egmont and Heyman in passing from Skalanóva to Ghiuzel-hissár; and one is rather sur-

of the celebrated temple of Diana Leucophryene, (which has since been measured and drawn by the Mission of the Society of Dilettanti,) that the question could be considered as satisfactorily determined. The decisive reasons in proof of the positions of Magnesia, Tralles and Nysa, as marked on the map at Inekbazar, Ghiuzel-hissár and Sultan-hissár, respectively, shall here be stated as briefly as possible.

1. Magnesia was according to Pliny 15 miles *, and according to Artemidorus 120 stades † from Ephesus. This is about the real distance of Inekbazar, and not half that of Ghiuzel-hissár, from the ruins of Ephesus at Aiasolúk.

2. Tralles was on the road from Physcus to Ephesus ‡. But had Magnesia been at Ghiuzel-hissár, Tralles, which was 18 miles according to one author §, or 140 stades according to another ||, to the eastward of Magnesia, must have been about

prised, that their account of the ruins at that place, although extremely vague, did not lead geographers to the suspicion that at Inekbazar would be found remains of Magnesia and of the temple of Leucophryene. The general dulness and inaccuracy of Heyman's book may perhaps account for this neglect of its authority. I am ignorant of the exact date of the Travels of the Dutch statesman and of the Oriental scholar of the same nation who was his companion. The English translation was published in 1759. We are told in the Preface that the travels occupied thirteen years.

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29. † Artem. ap. Strab. p. 663.
‡ Artem. ibid. § Plin. ubi supr. || Artem. ubi supr.

Atshá, which is very much out of the direction from Mármara to Ephesus.

3. We are told by Strabo, that to the traveller going from Magnesia to Tralles, with Mount Messogis on his left hand, the plain on his right belonged to the Magnetes, and to the people of Myus and Miletus *. But the two last places were too distant to have possessed any part of the plain opposite to Ghiuzel-hissár and Atshá.

4. Strabo describes Magnesia as situated in a plain at the foot of a mountain called Thorax, not far from the Mæander, but nearer the Lethæus a stream flowing from Pactyas a mountain of the Ephesii †. This description agrees precisely with Inekbazar, in face of which are two insulated hills, which, when all the plain of the Mæander below Inekbazar was sea, were two islands called Derasidæ and Sophonia ‡. Besides the town-walls, theatre, stadium §, and other indications of the site of a

* Strabo, p. 648. † Strabo, p. 647. ‡ Plin. ubi supr.

§ It appears to have been very customary with the Asiatic Greeks to make their stadia circular at both ends. Examples exist at Magnesia ad Mæandrum, Tralles, Aphrodisias, Laodiceia ad Lycum, and Pergamum. At Magnesia, Tralles, Sardes, and Pergamum, the theatre is placed on one side of the stadium thus,



Under the Romans the stadium was sometimes converted into

great city, are the vast prostrate fragments of an octastyle Ionic temple, the peristyle of which was near 200 feet in length, and was formed of columns more than 4 feet and a half in diameter. It agrees perfectly with the description given of the temple of Diana at Magnesia by Vitruvius* and Strabo†; the former of whom informs us that this building was a pseudodipterous octastyle of the Ionic order, and the latter that it was larger than any temple in Asia except those of Diana Ephesia and of Apollo Didymeus, and that it surpassed even the Ephesian temple in harmony and in the construction of the cell (*τῇ εὐρυθμίᾳ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ τῇ περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ σηκοῦ πολὺ διαφέρει*). Among the ruins are seen inscribed pedestals which formerly supported statues of Nerva and Marcus Aurelius; one of these is dedicated by a high priest and scribe of the Magnetes; and on another fragment were found the names of some priestesses of Artemis Leucophryene‡.

an amphitheatre, by building a curved wall across its breadth, so as to form with one of the circular ends a circle or oval. An inscription at Laodiceia, boasting of such a pitiful conversion of the stadium at that place, has been published by Chandler: and Pococke remarked the remains of a similar operation in the stadium of Ephesus. It appears from Strabo that there was an amphitheatre at Nysa: and there is one still existing at Pergamum; the latter is a building separate from the theatro-stadium.

* Vitruv. præf. in l. 7. † Strabo, p. 647.

‡ I.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΤΟΝ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΛΑΣ-

5. The ruins of Tralles are found above the modern town of Ghiuzel-hissár, in a situation such

ΣΗΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ ΜΑΡ·
ΑΥΡ· ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΥ-
ΣΕΒΗ ΕΥΤΥΧΗ ΣΕ
ΒΑΣΤΟΝ Μ· ΑΥΡ· ΣΤΡΑ-
ΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΣ Κ. ΣΙΔΙΚΙΟΣ
ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ· Κ· Μ· ΑΥΡ·
ΟΦΙΛΗΤΟΣ· Κ· ΑΥΡ.....
ΜΑΣ. Κ. ΑΥΡ.....ΤΑΣ
ΟΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΜ
ΜΑΤΕΙΣ ΑΝΕΣΤ (ησαν)
ΛΟΓΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
ΚΡΙΣΠΟΥ ΑΣΙΑ...

2.

...ΔΕΣΗ.....
...ΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΑ....
..Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩ...-
..ΝΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΗ Ε....
.....
...Σ ΔΙΔΙΑΝΟΣ Ο...
...ΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑ-
...Σ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ
... ΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ..

3.

.....
.....
.....ΙΕ-
ΡΕΙΑ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΑΡΤΕ-
ΜΙΔΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΟΦΡΥΗ-
ΝΗΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΑ Ν
.....

On the same stone as the preceding:

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΙΕΡΕΙΑ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΑΡ-
ΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΟΦΡΥ-
.....

as Strabo * has described—a table summit strong by nature (ἵδρυται ἐπὶ τραπεζίου τινὸς, ἄκραν ἔχοντος ἐρυμνήν). The only ruin well defined is that of the theatre and stadium, which formed one building. The Ionic temple of Æsculapius built by Argelius, which Vitruvius mentions †, as well as the other works of the purer times of Grecian art, seem to have been buried by earthquakes beneath the ruins of later buildings; among which are many remains of the architecture of the Lower Empire, vestiges of the restoration of Tralles by Andronicus Palæologus ‡. Pococke copied a Latin inscription at Ghiuzel-hissár in which the name of Tralles occurs, but

Although Magnesia was an Æolic city founded by Thessalians, (Strabo, p. 647.) no inscriptions have been found there in the Æolic dialect.

Pausanias in enumerating the great temples of Ionia has omitted that of Magnesia, possibly because he did not consider its district a part of Ionia. He states the temple of Ephesus to have been the first both for size and riches; next, the temples of Apollo at Branchidæ and at Colophon, neither of which was ever finished; then the temple of Juno at Samus and of Minerva at Phocæa, both of which had been burnt by the Persians, but were still objects of admiration: and after them the temples of Hercules at Erythræ, and of Minerva at Priene; the former remarkable for its antiquity, the latter for the statue which it contained. Pausan. Achaic. c. 5. The remark of Pausanias on the temple of Samus, which in magnitude was second only to that of Diana Ephesia, may account for the neglect of it by Strabo and Vitruvius. The latter was so ill-informed as to call it a Doric building.

* Strabo, p. 648. † Præf. in l. 7.

‡ Pachymer. Hist. l. 6. c. 20. Nicephor. Greg. l. 5. c. 5.

without having observed it. It is found also in two inscriptions copied at Ghiuzel-hissár by Sherard. The site of Tralles is traversed by a torrent answering to the ancient Eudon.

6. At Sultán-hissár, not far to the westward of Nasli, are the remains of a large city, corresponding with the description which Strabo has given of Nysa. Nysa was situated for the greater part on the slope of Mount Messogis, and was divided by a torrent so as to appear like two separate towns—a bridge traversed this torrent in one place, and in another the valley was occupied by an amphitheatre, beneath which flowed the torrent*. Chandler's account of the ruins at Sultan-hissár is exactly conformable with this description of Nysa,—so perfectly in regard to the remark of Strabo on the appearance of a double city, that Chandler supposed the western division to be Tralles, and the eastern Nysa. Pococke has reported an inscription found at Nasli, which contains the words ΝΥΣΑΕΙΣ and ΜΑΣΤΑΥΡΕΙΤΟΥ. Possibly Nasli may have been the site of Mastaura.

The situation of the other dependencies of Nysa, —namely Briula, Aromata, celebrated for its vines, and Acharaca where was a Plutonium and cavern, —have not yet been discovered. The latter was not far from Nysa on the road to Tralles †.

It may be inferred from Strabo that Hydrela

* Strabo, p. 649. † Id. Ibid.

also was in this part of the valley; and notwithstanding his remark *—that when the three towns founded by Hydrelus and his two brothers fell into decay, their united population formed the single one of Nysa,—Hydrela appears to have flourished at the time of the Roman wars in Asia †.

To the eastward of the Marsyas, or river of Tshina, several other smaller streams join the Mæander on its southern bank. That which is nearly opposite to Nasli may perhaps be the Harpasus, which flowed near the town of Harpasa ‡; for we learn from Pococke §, that some ruins in this situation are called Arpás-Kálesi. Not far to the eastward of this stream is another, which descends from Gheira and Karajasu. On the eastern side of its junction with the Mæander are the remains of an ancient city. This was probably Antiocheia, which stood at the junction of the Mosynus with the Mæander; having a bridge over the latter river, and a fertile territory on either bank ||. At this bridge it appears that the great eastern road from Ephesus to Mazaca—which passed through Magnesia, Tralles, and Nysa—crossed the river, leading afterwards from Antiocheia along the left bank to Carura and Laodiceia ¶.

* Strabo, p. 650. † Liv. l. 37. c. 56.
‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.
§ Pococke, vol. 2. part 2. c. 11.
|| Plin. ibid. Strabo, p. 630.
¶ Artemidorus ap. Strabon. p. 663.

Other ancient sites were observed in this region by Sherard * and Pococke: but all the ancient geography of the country to the southward of the Mæander is still involved in great uncertainty, there being no points absolutely certain except Laodiceia ad Lycum, Aphrodisias, and Mount Cadmus, now called Baba-dagh.

Aphrodisias is proved to have been at Gheira, by the numerous remains of antiquity still to be seen at that place. Among these are several inscriptions containing the name of the people; and ruins still exist of the temple of Venus †, from whose worship was derived the name by which the city was most commonly known ‡.

There can be little doubt that the hot springs observed by Pococke § and Chandler || on the south

* Sherard was accompanied in a tour to Aphrodisias in the year 1705, by Picenini; and in another in the year 1716, by Lisle. He copied upwards of 100 inscriptions at Aphrodisias, which are to be found in the MS. volume already mentioned. From two of the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, selected for publication by Chishull, it appears that Aphrodisias and Plarassa formed one community, having a governing council and a temple of Venus common to both: coins with a legend of both names are also not very uncommon. Plarassa is designated as a town of Caria by Stephanus.

† Mr. Gandy, one of the architects of the Mission of the Dilettanti, visited Gheira, and made drawings of the ruins.

‡ Its other appellations were Ninoe, Megalopolis, and Lelegopolis. Steph. in Μεγάλη Πόλις et Νινόη.

§ Pococke, vol. 2. part 2. c. 12.

|| Chandler, Asia Minor, c. 65.

bank of the Mæander, about 12 miles west of Denizlú, mark the site of Carura, which was celebrated for its hot baths in the time of Strabo, and was then the boundary of Caria and Phrygia. It was the same place, probably, as the Cydrara of Herodotus; for either here, or at no great distance, must have been the meeting of the three great roads which the historian mentions *, one leading into Lydia through the opening of Mount Messogis by Tripolis to Philadelphia; a second down the valley of the Mæander into Caria; and the third into Phrygia by the valley of the Lycus and Celænæ. Cydrara, in the time of Herodotus, was near the frontier of the three provinces.

Smith, in his Journey to the Seven Churches in 1671, was the first to describe the sites of Laodiceia, Hierapolis, Tripolis, and Colossæ. In all these places, except Tripolis, he has been followed by Pococke, or by Chandler; and at Hierapolis, recently, by Mr. Cockerell: the general topography and the antiquities which exist in these places are therefore known, although they have not yet been described to the public with sufficient accuracy or detail †.

Laodiceia ‡ preserves great remains of its impor-

* Herodot. l. 7. c. 30.

† The Second Mission of the Dilettanti into Asia did not penetrate so far as these places.

‡ Laodiceia is now a deserted place, called from the ruins Eski-hissár, a Turkish word equivalent to the Paleókastro, which the Greeks so frequently apply to ancient sites.

tance as the residence of the Roman governors of Asia under the emperors; namely, a stadium in uncommon preservation, three theatres, one of which is 450 feet in diameter, and the ruins of several other buildings *.

There are few ancient sites more likely than Laodiceia to preserve many curious remains of antiquity beneath the surface of the soil: its opulence, and the earthquakes to which it was subject †, rendering it probable that valuable works of art were often there buried, beneath the ruins of the public and private edifices ‡. And a similar remark, though in a smaller degree perhaps, will apply to the other cities of the vale of the Mæander, as well as to some of those situated to the north of Mount Tmolus: for Strabo informs us that Philadelphia, Sardes, and Magnesia of Sipylus were not less than Laodiceia and the cities of the Mæander, as far as Apameia at the sources of that river, subject to the same dreadful calamity §.

Hierapolis, now called Tabúk-Kale or Pambúk-Kale, owed its celebrity, and probably the sanctity indicated by its name, to its very remarkable sources

* Antiquities of Ionia, part 2. p. 32.—Chandler, Asia Minor, c. 67.

† Cicero. Epist. ad Am. l. 2. ep. 17. l. 3. ep. 5. l. 5. ep. 20. Tacit. l. 14. c. 27.

‡ . . . . Εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλη καὶ ἡ Λαοδίκεια εὔσειστος καὶ τῆς πλησιοχώρου τὸ πλέον. Strabo, p. 578.

‡ Strabo, p. 579, 628, 630.

of mineral water, the singular effects of which, caused by the rapid accumulation of its deposit, are shown by the narratives of Pococke and Chandler* to have been accurately described by Strabo†. A great number and variety of sepulchres are found on the different approaches to the site, which is a commanding hill overlooking the valleys of the Lycus and Mæander, and terminating on that side in a precipice. The town-walls are seen on the other sides, and the main street is traced in its whole length, bordered by three Christian churches, one of which is upwards of 300 feet long. About the middle of the street, just above the mineral sources, Pococke, in 1740, thought he distinguished some remains of the temple of Apollo, which according to Damascius, quoted by Photius, was in this situation ‡. Chandler distinguished the area of a stadium in a recess of the mountain. But the

* Pococke, vol. 2. part 2. c. 13.—Chandler, Asia Minor, c. 68.

† Strabo, p. 629, 630. Chandler found at the theatre the beginning of an encomium of Hierapolis :

Ἀσίδος εὐρείης προφερέστατον οὖδας ἁπάντων
Χαίροις Χρυσόπολι Ἱεράπολι πότνια νυμφῶν
Νάμασιν ἀγλαΐῃσι κεκασμένη.....

And Smith was the first to copy an inscription mentioning a company of dyers :

Τοῦτο τὸ ἷρων στεφανοῖ ἡ ἐργασία τῶν βαφέων.

The latter illustrates Strabo, who tells us the waters of Hierapolis were famous for dyeing.

‡ Phot. Biblioth. p. 1054.

principal ruins are a theatre and gymnasium, both in a state of uncommon preservation; the former 346 feet in diameter, the latter nearly filling a square space of 400 feet the side.

Of Tripolis we have a very imperfect description by Smith. Chandler saw at a distance the theatre which Smith mentions. Lucas, the only other traveller who has visited the site, was incompetent to give a description of its antiquities; and all that can be understood from his narrative is, that he really did pass by Tripolis, though he writes Kosh-Yenije, a village near the ruins of Tripolis, Kasha-shead, and Pambúk-Kálesi, Bambour-quezer.

The remains of Colossæ were found by Smith and Pococke below the modern Khónas; which name serves to identify the site, as we learn from Constantine Porphyrogennetus * that Colossæ was in his time called Chonæ (Χῶναι). Herodotus † mentions a subterraneous course of the Lycus for about half a mile near this place; but no traveller has yet verified this observation of the historian, or has ascertained the existence of the salt lake of Anava between Colossæ and Apameia ‡.

M. Barbié du Bocage, in his notes to the French

* Const. Porphyrog. de Them. l. 1. th. 3. The bishops of Chonæ subscribed to the second Nicene Council in 787, one hundred and fifty years before Porphyrogennetus.

† Herodot. l. 7. c. 30.

‡ Herodot. ibid. Strabo, p. 579.

translation of Chandler's Travels, has justly remarked that Chandler very improperly blames Pococke for having misunderstood the geography of this part of the country. It was Chandler himself who erred, in mistaking the river Caprus for the Lycus, and the Lycus for the Mæander. But although Pococke was right, he did no more than follow Smith, who clearly saw that the river which he crossed between Kosh-Yenije and Tabúk-Kálesi is the Mæander; that the stream between Tabúk-Kálesi and Eski-hissár (Laodiceia) is the Lycus; and that the small rivers which meet at the site of Laodiceia are the Caprus and the Asopus.

The valleys of four parallel rivers with the interjacent ridges of mountains, form the leading features of that beautiful and fertile country in the middle part of the western extremity of Asia Minor, which comprehended the ancient provinces of Ionia, Lydia, and Mysia.

The Mæander and Hermus, which (in proceeding from south to north) are the first and third of those rivers, are nearly equal as well in magnitude as in the length of their course, which is between two and three hundred miles. The fourth or northernmost river, the Caicus, although not so celebrated as the Caystrus, which is the second in the above-

mentioned order, is much more considerable in size. Deriving its origin from the same mass of Olympene mountains which give rise to the Hermus and the Rhyndacus, it is formed of two large branches, either of which is as long in its course as the Caystrus. But the latter, although little more than 70 miles in length, collects all the waters from the adjacent slopes of the great mountains Tmolus and Messogis; and thus becomes a stream of considerable magnitude at Ephesus, where it joins the sea.

There is very little certainty as to the names and positions of the ancient cities which occupied the valley of the Caystrus. The evidences of ancient history are so scanty with regard to them, that it is only from the discovery of their ruins, and of ancient inscriptions, that we can hope to ascertain either their situations or their names.

The remains of antiquity at Beréki, on the southern side of Tmolus, seem from Strabo and Ovid to have belonged to Hypæpa*; and it is not improbable that, in the fertile and delightful region

* . . . . . riget arduus alto
Tmolus in adscensu: clivoque extentus utroque
Sardibus hinc, illinc parvis finitur Hypæpis.
Ovid. Metam. l. 11. v. 150.

Ὑπαιπα δὲ πόλις ἐστὶ καταξαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Καΰστρου πεδίον. Strabo, p. 627.

on the summit of the mountain between Beréki and Sart (Sardes), a part of which is occupied by a large lake, there might be found some remains of the city Tmolus; which, together with many of the surrounding places, was destroyed by an earthquake in the fifth year of the reign of Tiberius *.

From the many remains of antiquity at Tyre, it appears that this large and advantageously-situated modern town is the successor of the chief Grecian city of that part of the country. It is known from Strabo and Pliny †, that the valley of the Caystrus was divided into that of Ephesus towards the sea; the plain properly called Caystrian; and the Cilbian plain: above the last were the Cilbian mountains, in which the Caystrus had its sources. We find that the Caystriani, the lower Cilbiani, and the upper Cilbiani, coined each their own money, with the name of the people inscribed ‡; and they had undoubtedly each a chief town in which the coinage took place. As Tyre stands in the central part of the Caystrian valley, it probably occupies the site of the city of the Caystriani: whether this place had any

* Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 47. Euseb. Chron.

† Strabo, p. 440, 620, 629. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.

‡ See Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet. vol. 3. p. 96; where several coins are described, with the legends ΚΑΥΣΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, ΚΙΛΒΙΑΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΩ and ΚΙΛΒΙΑΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΩ. But it seems that not only the upper and lower Cilbiani, but that settlers also in their country, from Nicæa and Pergamum, had their separate coinage. Eckhel. ibid.

other name cannot be discovered in ancient history. Larissa Ephesia, which possessed a temple of Apollo Larissenus, and was supposed to have been anciently a city of much greater importance than it was in the time of Strabo, stood in another part of the Caystrian plain, 180 stades from Ephesus, towards Mount Tmolus*. There was another Larissa, 30 stades distant from Tralles, on the road leading from thence across the Messogis into the plain of Caystrus, from whence the worship of Jupiter Larissius at Tralles had its origin †.

Although the remains of Ephesus are still very considerable and of easy access, they have hardly yet been sufficiently explored, or at least they have not yet been described to the public with the accuracy and detail which they merit. The temple of Diana Ephesia, the largest and most celebrated of the Asiatic Greek buildings, is the only one of the great examples of the Ionic order, of which we do not now possess particulars more or less satisfactory. The temples at Samus, Branchidæ, Priene, Magnesia, and Sardes, have been measured and drawn by experienced architects;—but not a stone has yet been discovered that can with certainty be ascribed to the Ephesian temple, although very little doubt remains as to its exact situation ‡.

* Strabo, p. 620. † Strabo, p. 440.

‡ The total disappearance of such a vast edifice as the temple of Diana Ephesia is to be ascribed to two causes, both arising

There has been some difference of opinion with regard to the ancient maritime sites between

from its situation. Its position near the sea has facilitated the removal of its materials for the use of new buildings during the long period of Grecian barbarism; while that gradual rising of the soil of the valley, which has not only obstructed the port near the temple, but has created a plain of three miles between it and the sea, has buried all the remains of the temple that may have escaped removal. Enough of these however, it is probable, still exists beneath the soil to enable the architect to obtain a perfect knowledge of every part of the construction.

It is remarkable that all the greatest and most costly of the temples of Asia, except one, are built on low and marshy spots: those of Samus, Ephesus, Magnesia, and Sardes, are all so situated. It might be supposed that the Greek architects, having to guard against earthquakes, as against the most cruel enemy of their art, and having ample experience in all the concomitant circumstances of these dreadful convulsions, which are the peculiar scourge of all the finest parts of Asia Minor, were of opinion that a marshy situation offered some security against their effects. But the custom seems rather to be connected with the character of the Ionic order, which is itself associated with that of the Asiatic Greeks. While the massy and majestic Doric was best displayed on a lofty rock, the greater proportional height of the elegant Ionic required a level, surrounded with hills. So sensible were the Greeks of this general principle, that the columns of the Doric temple of Nemea, which is situated in a narrow plain, have proportions not less slender than some examples of the Ionic order. In fact, it was situation that determined the Greeks in all the varieties of their architecture; and, so far from being the slaves of rule, there are no two examples of the Doric, much less of the Ionic, that exactly resemble, either in proportion, construction, or ornament. It must be admitted, however, that the colonies of Italy and Sicily appear to have been less refined in taste; and, like all colonies, to have adhered to ancient models longer than the mother-country.

Ephesus and Cape Trogilium, which was the extreme point of Mount Mycale. Strabo* describes this coast in the following terms: "Beyond the strait formed by Samus and Mycale, in sailing towards Ephesus, a part of the coast on the right hand belongs to the Ephesii and a part to the Samii;—the first place is Panionium, situated three stades above the sea. Here is held the common festival of the Ionians, who sacrifice to Neptune Heliconius; the priesthood belongs to the people of Priene. Next occurs Neapolis, which the Ephesii exchanged with the Samii for Marathesium, the latter being nearer to them; then Pygela, a small city; then the port Panormus, and the temple of Diana Ephesia."

The uninhabitable aspect of the rocks and forests of Mycale from Cape Trogilium to the modern Tshanglí, is such as make it impossible to fix upon any spot, either on the face or at the foot of that mountain, at which Panionium can well be supposed to have stood. Tshanglí, on the other hand, situated in a delightful and well watered valley between two projecting points of the mountain, was admirably suited to the Panionian festival: and here Sir William Gell found, in a church on the sea-shore, an inscription in which he distinguished the name of Panionium twice. I con-

* Strabo, p. 639.

ceive, therefore, that there can be little doubt of Tshanglí being on the site of Panionium.

Several travellers in passing from Ephesus to Skalanóva have remarked the ruins of a small town near the sea, at about one-third of the distance from the former place to the latter. These are probably the remains of Pygela; though I am not aware how far the neighbouring coast will answer to Livy's description of Pygela as a harbour*. Between this spot and Tshanglí there are only two places which we can suppose to have been anciently occupied by towns: one is Skalanóva; the other is half-way between Skalanóva and Tshanglí; where, in a valley watered by a stream, is a source of hot water, near the ruins of a fortress, which, although it appears to have been a work of the Lower Greek Empire, contains some remains of an earlier age. This latter I take to be the site of Neapolis, which the Ephesii built, and afterwards exchanged with the Samii; and Skalanóva stands probably on the ancient Marathesium.

The survey by Captain Beaufort of the coast between Skalanóva and the canal of Khio, illustrates ancient history in the most satisfactory manner. There still exist on this coast some remains of two celebrated buildings—the Ionic temple of Bacchus at Teos, and the temple of Jupiter Clarius at No-

* Liv. l. 37. c. 11.

tium, the port of Colophon *. The chief written evidence is supplied by Livy and Strabo ; and upon this the map will be found a sufficient commentary.

Although the ancient names to the westward of Teos are not so certainly fixed as those to the eastward of that place, one can hardly doubt that the harbour of Sykiá, on the west side of Cape Corycus, now Kóraka, was the port called Corycus; for Livy describes Corycus both as a promontory of the Teii and as a harbour. In the war between Antiochus and the Romans, in the year B. C. 193†, Polyxenidas, commander of the fleet of Antiochus, hearing that the Roman fleet was approaching from Delus, and being desirous of coming to an engagement with them before they should be joined by Eumenes and the Rhodii, sailed from Phocæa with a hundred vessels of a small class, of which seventy were covered. Having passed through the channel of Chius, he anchored in Cyssus, a port of the Erythræi. The Romans sailed from Delus to Phanæ in Chius, and from thence, after taking in provision at the city of Chius, they proceeded to Phocæa;

* Colophon stood at a distance of two miles from the shore. Liv. l. 37. c. 26. The temple of Clarus has not yet been sufficiently examined, although, according to Captain Beaufort, its remains are not inconsiderable ; and, what is curious in this part of the country, it was of the Doric order. For Teos, see Antiquities of Ionia, part 1. c. 1.

† Liv. l. 36. c. 43.

where they were joined by Eumenes from Elæa, the port of Pergamum, with twenty-four covered, and many open vessels. The combined fleet, amounting to 200 ships, (a fourth of which were uncovered,) then sailed along the shore, with the view of passing into port Corycus, which was beyond Cyssus. Polyxenidas, when he saw the enemy approach, advanced against them, and was defeated. Cyssus, from this transaction, seems to have been the harbour now called Latzáta, the largest on this part of the coast; and it is probably the same which Strabo calls Casystes *. Tshisme, noted for more than one Turkish disaster, seems to be the port Phœnicus of the Erythræi, in which the Romans anchored after the action, on their way to the city of Chius. The remains of Erythræ are found considerably to the northward of Tshisme, in a port sheltered by the islands, anciently called Hippi †.

As Strabo ‡ states the entrance into the canal of Chius on this side, between Cape Argennum of the main land and Cape Poseidium of Chius, to have been sixty stades in breadth, these two capes could be no others than the promontories marked with those names in the map; the real distance agreeing exactly with the ancient number.

The next place to Poseidium, in coasting the

* Strabo, p. 644.

† Chandler, Asia Minor, c. 25.

‡ Strabo, ubi sup.

island with the shore on the right hand, was Phanæ *, which is described by Livy as a harbour turned toward the Ægean (portum Chiorum in Ægeum mare versum), and in another place as a promontory (promontorium Chiorum). We have already seen that it was the place at which the Roman fleet touched in proceeding from the isle of Delus to the Pergamenian coast; on another occasion they assembled at Phanæ, previously to their sailing to the same island †: it seems therefore to have been in the bay on the western side of the southernmost cape of Chius.

The other ancient names of this island have been placed on the map, as well as the information afforded by the ancient authors ‡ compared with the blind accounts of the modern travellers Pococke and Heyman would admit.

The rivers Hermus and Caicus, each of which is formed by the union of two branches meeting at thirty or forty miles above the mouth, water two extensive valleys equal in natural advantages to

* Strabo, p. 645. † Liv. l. 36. c. 43.—l. 44. c. 28.

‡ Particularly Herodot. in vitâ Hom. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 24. Strabo, ubi sup. There is a manifest error in regard to the breadth of the island in our copies of Strabo, which assign 60 stades for the interval between Elæus on the western side, and the city Chius on the eastern:—the narrowest part of the island cannot be less than double that distance.

those of the Mæander and Caystrus, and not exceeded in beauty and fertility by any in the world. Sardes was the chief city of the valley of the Hermus, and Pergamum in that of the Caicus. Both have retained the ancient name a little corrupted by the Turks: but while Pergamum continues to be the capital of the surrounding country, Sardes has yielded to Magnesia of Mount Sipylus, and has dwindled to a small village. This village however and its vicinity have to boast of two of the most interesting remains of antiquity in Asia; the colossal tumulus of Alyattes near the lake Gygæa*, and the vast Ionic temple of Cybebe† or the Earth, on the bank of the Pactolus‡. Here is also a theatre connected with a stadium, and the ruins of a large church, perhaps the only one of the Seven Churches

* Herodot. l. 1. c. 93.

† Herodot. l. 5. c. 102.—Strabo, Chrest. l. 10.

‡ Ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ
Μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διὸς
Ἃ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὔχρυσον νέμεις.
Sophocl. Philoct. v. 395.

From a drawing of the temple by Peyssonel in 1750, it appears there were then standing three columns with their architraves, a part of the cella, and three detached columns. Mr. Cockerell found there in 1812 only three columns standing with their capitals; but enough remained of the ruins to satisfy him that it was of the kind called by Vitruvius Octastylus Dipterus—that the exterior columns of the peristyle were about 7 feet in diameter at the base, and that the peristyle was upwards of 260 feet in length.

of Asia of which there are any distinguishable remains.

Pergamum retained under the Romans that superiority over all the cities of Asia which it had acquired under the successors of Philetærus: and it still preserves many vestiges of its ancient magnificence. Remains of the Asclepium and of some other temples; of the theatre, stadium, amphitheatre, and several other buildings, are still to be seen*.

There is a confusion of names in regard to the two branches of the Hermus, similar to that which I have already had occasion to notice in the instances of the Sangarius and Mæander. It seems clear from Homer† and from Strabo‡, that the branch of the Hermus which waters the plain of Ak-hissár, and which joins the main stream not far from Magnesia, is the ancient Hyllus, which in the time of Strabo was called Phrygius; for we find no mention in ancient history of any other tributary stream of the Hermus, with the exception of the Cogamus near Philadelphia, that of Sardes the famed Pactolus, and a third the Cryus, obscurely named by Pliny, and which was probably of no

* Choiseul Gouffier. Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, tome 2. c 13.

† . . . . . τοι τέμενος πατρώϊόν ἐστιν,
Ὕλλῳ ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι, καὶ Ἕρμῳ δινήεντι. Il. Υ. 392.

‡ Strabo, p. 554. . . . Ἕρμον εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ Ὕλλος ἐμβάλλει, Φρύγιος νῦν καλούμενος. Strabo, p. 626.

greater magnitude than the other two just mentioned. Nor in fact is there any stream of importance joining the main river now called Kodus or Ghedis, in the lower part of its course, except the river of Ak-hissár. The course of the main stream, moreover, agrees exactly with the description which Strabo has given of the Hermus. "It rises," he says, "in the sacred mountain Dindymene, flows through the Catacecaumene into the district of Sardes, and from thence through the subjacent plains into the sea*."

From Livy however, in his narrative of the transactions which preceded the decisive victory gained by the Romans over Antiochus at Magnesia, it seems evident that Phrygius was the name by which the southern or main branch of the Hermus was better known to the Romans. Antiochus had collected his forces at Thyateira, when his opponent the Consul Lucius Cornelius Scipio crossed the Hellespont, and moved in six days from Ilium to the sources of the Caicus. Here he was joined by Eumenes from Elæa; and from hence, on the supposition that the king was still near Thyateira, he marched to meet him, and moved in five days into the Hyrcanian plain. But Antiochus in the mean

* Pliny (Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.) says that the Hermus rises near Dorylæum of Phrygia; which although not a very accurate description, agrees at least with the distant origin of the Kodús in the mountains adjoining to Olympus.

time had quited Thyateira, and after having *crossed the river Phrygius*, had entrenched himself at Magnesia. The Consul followed on the opposite side of the river, until he arrived in the enemy's presence. When the armies had remained in this position, with the river between them, for two days, the Romans crossed it and took up a position with their left to the stream, consequently to the westward of the position of Antiochus, which was probably done for the sake of securing a communication with the fleet at Elæa, and a retreat in that direction in case of necessity. After his defeat Antiochus fled to Sardes and Apameia.

From these transactions it cannot well be doubted that Livy applies the name of Phrygius to the southern or main branch of the Hermus, in contradiction to Strabo, who identifies it with the northern. And in this the historian agrees with Pliny*, who by distinguishing the Phryx from the Hyllus, and by observing that the Phryx gave name to Phrygia, and that it separated that province from Caria, shews clearly that he applied the name Phryx to the largest, and at the same time to the southernmost branch. This instance serves, like that of the

* Hermus .... oritur juxta Dorilaium Phrygiæ civitatem multosque colligit fluvios, inter quos Phrygem, qui nomine genti dato a Caria eam disterminat, Hyllum et Cryon et ipsos Phrygiæ, Mysiæ, Lydiæ amnibus repletos. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 29.

Sangarius, to prove how easily a confusion of names occurs in regard to the branches of a river.

From the direction of Scipio's route from Troy to the Hyrcanian plain, and from the proportion of his marches, it may be inferred that the north-eastern branch of the river of Bergma, which flows by Menduria and Balikesri, is that which was anciently called Caicus;—of the name of the southern branch I have not found any trace in ancient history.

Strabo * informs us that the Caicus was joined by the Mysius flowing from Temnum; and that this mountain separated the valley of the Caicus from the plain of Apia, which bordered on Thebe and Adramyttium. Such is our ignorance of the real structure of this part of the country, that it is only from the ancient geographer that we have any knowledge either of the mountain or the river.

Notwithstanding the facilities which were so long given to the researches of travellers by the favourable disposition of the ruling Turkish family of Kara-Osmán-Oglu, added to the influence of the European factories at Smyrna, even the most accessible parts of the valleys of the Hermus and Caicus and of their interjacent ridges are still very insufficiently explored. It seems strange to say, that of a coast so near to Smyrna as that between the mouths of the Hermus and Caicus, we possess no delineation that can be relied on; and consequently

* Strabo, p. 616.

no satisfactory information upon the very interesting positions of Leucæ, Phocæa, Cyme, Ægæ, Neontichus, Myrina, and Grynium; the latter noted for a magnificent temple of Apollo, of white marble*.

In short, with the exception of Temnus, which appears from the Peutinger Table to have been at Menimen; and of Nacrasa, which an inscription mentioned by Chishull† shews to have been at Bakír,—we have no accurate information on the sites of any of the second-rate towns of this part of Asia Minor—and all to the east and north of Philadelphia, Thyateira and Pergamum, as far as the Thymbres, Mount Olympus, and the coast of the Propontis, is little better than an unknown land, in which there are very few ancient names that I have been able to place with any degree of certainty.

The site of Cyzicus has been visited and imperfectly described by Pococke and Sestini, and Miletopolis appears from Chishull's description of the neighbouring lake to have been at Miniás‡. And hence we have two lines in the Table of which the extremities are known—namely, that leading from Pergamum to Miletopolis, and that leading from Per-

* Strabo, p. 622. † Antiq. Asiat. p. 146.

‡ This place was visited by Chishull in the year 1702, in his way from Smyrna to Adrianople; when leaving the main road from Smyrna to Brusa to the right at Susugerli, he proceeded from thence to the Hellespont which he crossed at Gallipoli. It is from his route alone that I obtain any clear knowledge of the situation and course of the Æsepus and Granicus.

gamum to Cyzicus. On the former was Hadrianotheræ *, for such undoubtedly is the correction that should be made of the corrupted name in the Table, though the distance there assigned to it of 8 M.P. from Pergamum cannot be implicitly relied on, as the 41 M. P. which forms the whole interval between Pergamum and Miletopolis is not half the reality. On the road from Pergamum to Cyzicus we find two names in the Table, which do not occur elsewhere in ancient history—Phemeneo—Argesis. The distance of Phemenium from Cyzicus is omitted in the Table: but if the other two distances on this line are correct, the mines of Ergasteria mentioned by Galen were between Phemenium and Argesæ †.

The name of Kesri or Balikesri seems to be a corruption of Cæsareia ‡. It is the chief town of the Turkish district of Karasi, and is situated on the Caicus, near the great road from Smyrna to Constantinople: it is probably the site of one of

* This Hadrianotheræ was a place of sufficient importance to coin its own money. Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet. Bithynia.

† Ergasteria was at 440 stades from Pergamum on the road to Cyzicus. Galen, in proceeding to Ergasteria from Pergamum, remarked a great quantity of metallic substance, which he calls molybdæna. Galen. de Medicam. Simp. l. 9. c. 22.

‡ Bala, or Bali, from the Greek Παλαιὰ, is not unfrequently prefixed to Turkish corruptions of ancient Greek names. Ababekr Ben Behrem mentions a Baliamból (Παλαιὰν πόλιν) in the district of Aidin, and a Balia in that of Karasi. Patræ in the Peloponnesus is called by the Turks Balabátra.

the numerous places which under the Romans changed their more ancient name to Cæsareia.

In some part of Mount Olympus, to the westward of Brusa, we find mention made by the Turkish geographer Abubekr, of a town called Edrenús. There can be little doubt that this is the ancient Hadriani ad Olympum or in Olympo, of which coins inscribed with this local distinction are still in existence*. Edrenús is no other than Ἀδριανούς, a slight corruption of Hadriani in the usual modern Greek form of the accusative, like Kodus for Cadi.

The geography of the western side of the Idæan range, which slopes to the Ægean sea and the Hellespont, is in a very different state from that of the country to the eastward of that mountain. The natural beauties of the Troas, its accessibility by sea, but above all its celebrity as the scene of the Ilias, have attracted a greater number of travellers to it, than to any other part of Asia Minor †.

* Eckhel Bithynia.—Sestini, Lett. t. 2. p. 103.

† It is to M. de Choiseul Gouffier, and to those who assisted him, that we are indebted for the best map of this interesting region, though much still remains to be done in the details of its topography. In 1819 Choiseul's map received some corrections and additions from M. Barbié du Bocage, founded upon the observations of M. Dubois, who had been sent to the Troas in the preceding year by M. de Choiseul. See Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, tom. 2. pl. 19.

The most remarkable places in the Troas were Assus, Lectum, Hamaxitus, Larissa, Colonæ, Alexandreia, Cebrene, Neandria, Cenchreæ, Scamandria, Sigeium, and New Ilium.

The two most important, and to which the greater part of the population of the others was drawn as early as the time of the successors of Alexander, were Alexandria and New Ilium; and these continued to be the chief towns under the Roman emperors. Alexandria has preserved considerable remains to this day. Of New Ilium only the foundations of the walls with a few other fragments are to be seen.

As Hamaxitus, Larissa, and Colonæ, were from their proximity to Alexandria absorbed by that city at the time of its foundation*, we are not surprised that no remains of them have been remarked by travellers. Some circumstances, however, mentioned by Strabo †, are sufficient very nearly to fix their positions. Hamaxitus in particular is determined by the salt-works of Tragasæ, which are still in a state of operation on the sea-coast near the mouth of the river of Tuzla. This river (perhaps the ancient Satnioeis) does not, however, take its name, which means *salt*, from the maritime salt-works alone: there are other salt-works at some very copious sources of hot salt water, at a consi-

* Strabo, p. 604. † Id. pp. 440, 473, 604, 612, 620.

derable distance from the sea, on the northern side of the valley, where is a village called Tuzla, and where the neighbouring hills are composed of rock salt. This curious fact accounts for the name Halesium, anciently applied to the district *.

As it appears from Strabo that Cebrenia bordered on the territories of Antandrus, Hamaxitus, Neandria, New Ilium, and Scepsis †, and that the Scepsia was on the Æsepus ‡, consequently on the eastern side of the summit of Ida,—Cebrenia seems to have occupied the higher region of Ida on the western side, and its city very probably stood at Kushunlú Tepe, not far from Bairamitsh, where Dr. E. D. Clarke, proceeding from the latter place towards the sources of the Mendere and the summit of Ida, found very considerable remains of antiquity. The fine valley which extends from thence to the modern town of Ene, seems to answer in its upper part to the level country of Cebrenia, mentioned by Strabo §; and in its lower or western to the plain called Samonium, which belonged to Neandria ||: for Neandria being described by the geographer as inland from Hamaxitus towards New Ilium, and as 130 stades distant from the latter ¶, corresponds exactly in position with Ene.

* Strabo, p. 605.
† Id. pp. 596, 606.
‡ Id. pp. 552, 603.
§ Id. p. 596.
|| Id. p. 472.
¶ Id. p. 606.

In the plain of Troy, or region watered by the lower course of the Mendere and its branches, the only positions proved to be ancient sites, by remains of buildings existing in their original places, are—

1. That of New Ilium on a hill which rises to the eastward of the villages of Kum-Kiúi and Kalafátli, about 5 miles to the S. E. of Kum-Kalé or the lower castle of the Dardanells, and three miles from the nearest shore. The vestiges of the walls of the citadel are to be traced on the summit of the height; and some of the buildings of the town, on the western slope and at the foot of the hill: but very little now remains in its place, the site being resorted to (as it probably has been ever since its abandonment), as to a stone-quarry, for the materials of modern constructions—whence we find all the villages, farms, and particularly the Turkish cemeteries of the surrounding country, full of the inscribed or decorated marbles of New Ilium. 2. Paleó Aktshi Kiúi. This, by its direction and distance from New Ilium, corresponds exactly with the Ἰλιέων κώμη, or village of the Ilienses, described by Strabo * as being 30 stades eastward of New Ilium towards Ida and Dardania. 3. Paleó-Kastro, near the Turkish village of It-ghelmés, on a height overlooking the Bosphorus. This is probably the site of the town Rhœteium, on a part of the sea-shore of

* Strabo, pp. 593, 597.

which was the Æanteium or tomb of Ajax *, still existing. 4. Yenishehr, the ancient Sigeium. 5. Another Paleó-Kastro, near the mouth of the small river which receives the canal derived from the river of Bunárbashi. This has been supposed, with great probability, to have been a small town and port called Agameia †. 6. The hill which rises above the less or lower Bunárbashi to the S. E., and which is bounded in the same direction by the deep valley of the Mendere. This, it is not improbable, was the site of Scamandria; for it may be presumed that Scamandria being named by Pliny together with New Ilium ‡, was in some part of the lower plain of the Scamander, near that river; and there is no site on the Mendere so remarkable as that of Bunárbashi. Pliny describes Scamandria as a *small* town: but it seems from an extant inscription to have been of sufficient importance to make a recorded treaty with New Ilium concerning the sale of corn §.

The same heights are by many persons supposed

* Strabo, p. 595.

† Stephan. in Ἀγάμεια. Hesych. et Phavorin. in Ἀγαμίας et Ἄγαμος. Choiseul Gouffier, Voyage Pitt. de la Grèce, tom. 2. p. 331.

‡ Est tamen et nunc Scamandria civitas parva, ac M. D. passus remotum a portu Ilium immune. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 30.

§ This inscription is now in the Royal Museum of Paris. Choiseul Gouffier, tom. 2. p. 288.

to have been in an earlier age the position of the renowned capital of Ilus and his successors: indeed, so many of the most intelligent *travellers* * in the Troas are agreed in placing the Homeric Ilium at Bunárbashi, that I should have been satisfied on the present occasion with stating my concurrence with their opinion, and with referring to the arguments of such of them as have supported it by their publications, had not some adverse systems been recently maintained with great learning and ingenuity; though chiefly, it must be admitted, by those who have considered the question in the closet only. I shall here offer, therefore, a few observations on this subject; first stating what appear to me to be the strongest grounds for thinking that Bunárbashi was the site of Troy, and then the principal objections that have been made to that opinion, together with the arguments which occur in reply to them †.

As even the identity of the country on the Asiatic side of the entrance of the Hellespontine strait

* I may particularly mention Choiseul Gouffier, Lechevalier, Morritt, Hawkins, Gell, Hamilton, and Foster.

† To those who may consider it idle to inquire for a site which was unknown 2,000 years ago, it may not be improper to offer the remark, that not one of the ancient authors who have written on the Troas, with the exception of Homer, was so well acquainted with the locality as modern travellers are; and that not one possessed any delineation of its topography approaching to the accuracy of that with which we are furnished and not yet satisfied.

with the scene of the Ilias has been doubted, it may not be useless to premise, that if the war of Troy was a real event, having reference to a real topography (and to doubt it would shake the whole fabric of profane history), no district has yet been shown that will combine even a few of the requisite features of the plain of Troy, except that between Kum-Kalé and Bunárbashi: whereas in that district, and in the surrounding country by land and by water, we find the seas and mountains and islands in the positions which the poet indicates, and many of them with the same or nearly the same names. The features which do not accord so well with his description are those which are the most liable to change in the lapse of ages,—the course and size of the rivers, and the extent and direction of the low coast where these waters join the sea. Instead of a river with two large branches, which Homer seems to describe, we find on one side of the plain a broad torrent, reduced in the dry season to a slender brook, and a few stagnant pools; and on the other side a small perennial stream, which instead of joining the former is diverted into an artificial channel, and is thus carried to a different part of the coast. But the diminutive size of some of the most celebrated rivers of antiquity is well known to those who have travelled in Greece; and it must be considered that a poet writing of a real scene is obliged to magnify those features, which without exaggeration would

be beneath the dignity of his verse. In regard to the course of the streams, it seems sufficient still to find, at the end of three thousand years, two rivers which, if they do not now unite, evidently did so at a former period of time: and for the sources of that stream which Homer describes as rising under the walls of Troy, to find some very remarkable springs, not very different in their peculiarities from the poet's description, and rising at the foot of a commanding height on the edge of the plain.

For poetry this coincidence appears sufficient: and in regard to the position of Troy itself, it seems enough to find a hill rising above the sources just mentioned, not only agreeing in all particulars with the kind of position which the Greeks * usually chose for their towns, but the only situation in this region which will combine all the requisites they sought for; namely, a height overlooking a fertile maritime plain,—situated at a sufficient distance from the sea to be secure from the attacks of pirates, and furnished with a copious and perennial supply of water,—presenting a very strong and healthy position for the city; and for the citadel a hill be-

* It is almost unnecessary here to remark, that the ruling family, and hence probably a large portion of the people of Troy, were of Greek origin, and that they had adopted the manners and language of Greece. The Dardanidæ were Greeks settled in Asia, as the Atridæ were Phrygians settled in Europe. For the history of Ilium the reader may conveniently consult the work of Chandler, in 4to. 1802.

yond the reach of bowshot from the neighbouring heights, defended at the back by steep rocks and precipices, surrounded by a deep valley and broad torrent, and backed beyond the river by mountains which supplied timber and fuel. That it was precisely such a situation as the inhabitants of Greece and Asia in remote ages preferred, might be shown by a great variety of examples: and it can hardly be doubted that a person totally unacquainted with the Ilias, but accustomed to observe the positions of ancient Greek towns, would fix on Bunárbashi for the site of the chief place of the surrounding country.

It is a necessary consequence of placing Troy on the heights to the S.E. of Bunárbashi, that the river flowing from the sources which give that village its name (meaning Spring-head), is the Scamander of Homer: that the large torrent which flows through a deep ravine on the eastern side of the heights, is the Simoeis: and that notwithstanding the much greater magnitude of the bed of the latter and occasionally of that stream itself, the united river after the junction in the plain was called by the name of the former, Scamander. In support of this opinion, it has been justly observed by Lechevalier, that Homer's description, allowance being made for poetical exaggeration, is correct, both as to the springs themselves, and as to the very different character of the two rivers: nor can it be denied that the two hills, that of Bunárbashi and

the higher eminence behind it, correspond to the mention by Homer of Ilium and its citadel Pergamus. The termination of the slope towards the springs accords also with the idea which we receive from the poet of the extent of the city on that side, and of the position of the gate Scææ or Dardaniæ, which was near the sources of the Scamander, and was the principal outlet towards the plain*. But if these assumptions are not unreasonable, it cannot be denied on the other hand that in attempting to identify such objects as the tombs of Ilus, Myrinna, and Æsyetes, Lechevalier has exposed himself to reasonable objections from his opponents, and has rather injured than strengthened his cause. For it is not certain that all the monuments mentioned by Homer were tumuli; and it is very possible that if they were, several of them have been obliterated by time. Nothing can be more likely than that the real history of the monuments should have been forgotten in the interval between the destruction of Troy and the foundation of New Ilium, and that names should have been ascribed to them by the inhabitants of the latter place, suited to their own system of Trojan topography, and favourable to the pretensions which they held, that their city stood upon the ancient site. With regard to the existing barrows, it seems incontrovertible only that those which stand in conspicuous situa-

* Lechevalier, Voyage de la Troade, tome 2. c. 5, 6.

tions on either side of the mouth of the Scamander, are the tumuli, supposed in the time of the Romans, and probably with reason, to have been the sepulchres of Ajax, Achilles, and some other chieftains; and these monuments are so far important, as they prove the identity of the plain of the Mendere with the scene of the Ilias *.

It is objected to the springs of Bunárbashi, that instead of being only two,—one hot and the other cold, as described by Homer †,—they are in one place so numerous as to have received from the Turks the name of Kirk-Ghiuz, (the Forty Fountains), and that they are all of the same temperature.

But viewing them as the springs of a river, they may in poetical language, or even in common speech, be considered as two, since they arise in two places, distant from each other about 200 yards: in one the water appears in a deep basin, which is noted among the natives for being often covered with a

* A monument of the same kind is seen on the summit of the hill above the lower European castle of the Dardanells, and another at the upper European castle. The latter has been clearly described as the Cynossema or tomb of Hecuba (Strabo, p. 595); the former as the monument of Protesilaus, near Elæus. Herodot. l. 9. c. 116. Philostr. Heroic. c. 2.

† Κρουνὼ δ' Ἵκανον καλιρρόω, ἔνθα δὲ πηγαὶ
Δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσουσι Σκαμάνδρου δινήεντος·
Ἡ μὲν γὰρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
Γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
Ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ
Ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ. Il. X. v. 147.

thick vapour like smoke: in the other place, there are numerous rills issuing from the rocks, into a broad shallow piece of water, terminating in a stream which is joined by that from the smoking spring. As to the temperature of the water, the observations of travellers give various results. Some have observed a difference: according to others, it would appear that being all deep-seated springs, their temperature is the same at all seasons, or about 60° of Fahrenheit at their eruption from the ground; consequently that they will feel cold when the air is at 70° or 80°, and warm when it is at 40° or 50°*. But even in this case it is obvious that there will be a real difference between the heat of the shallow recipient of the springs called the Forty Fountains, and that of the single deep pool. It seems sufficient to justify Homer's expression, that a difference of temperature was believed, and that an occasional appearance of vapour over one source was often observed by the natives: for the poet would probably

* Major Rennell quotes several observations, all of which make both the sources from 61° to 64° Fahr. Choiseul says that on the 10th Feb. he found the atmosphere at 10° Reaumur, the hot source at 22°, the cold source at 8°. Dubois from the 12th to 16th Jan. found the temperature of the single or hot source from 2° to 5° Reaumur higher than the air; and that of the Forty Fountains, from $\frac{1}{2}$° to 1° below the heat of the air. Although I was several days in the Troas, I could not make any observations, from an accident which happened to my thermometer.

flatter the local prejudices, even if he had examined the fountains so attentively as to be convinced that the warmth of all the sources was the same.

Another and a more weighty objection to the placing of Troy on the heights of Bunárbashi, is that the much greater magnitude of the river, which flows on the east side of those heights, concurs with its modern name Mendere in showing it to be the Scamander of Homer; and that such was evidently the opinion of several authors of antiquity, particularly of Demetrius, a native of Scepsis in the Troas, from whom Strabo principally derived his information on the geography of this district. In fact there can be no doubt, that in the time of Demetrius, who wrote in the second century before Christ *, the Mendere from its source in Mount Kazdagh to its junction with the sea was called Scamander. But was it so in the time of the Trojan war? In this inquiry we have nothing to do with any authority but that of the Ilias itself: for it is evident from the remarks of Demetrius and Strabo, that the topography of the poem and the site

* Strabo, p. 594. Demetrius visited New Ilium about the time that Antiochus the Great was defeated by the Romans—he was then a boy. He describes the town of New Ilium as being in a state of decline, and so poor that the houses were not covered with earthen tiles—ὥστε μηδὲ κεραμωτὰς ἔχειν τὰς στέγας: meaning probably that they were covered with what are called in modern Greek πλάκες, generally made of schistose limestone.

of Troy were as much a subject of doubt and dispute in their time as they are at present. Nor is this surprising. The result of the Trojan war was the subversion of Ilium and the extinction (with the exception of a single branch of the royal family) of the colony which had settled in this part of Phrygia *. Strabo repeatedly remarks that the revolutions following the Trojan war were the great cause of the difficulty which he experienced in adjusting the Homeric chorography. The barbarous people of Thrace, called Treres, who then established themselves in the Troas, could not have taken much interest in any thing relating to the former colony, to whose language they were strangers, and whose history was recorded only in the songs of an Ionian stranger. It was not till long afterwards that the Æolian Greeks of Lesbus extended their settlements into the Troas. It was not even by them that New Ilium was founded, but by a Lydian, and consequently a semibarbarous colony †, about the eighth century before Christ; and it was not till a taste for the poems of Homer having begun to prevail in European Greece, and the Athenians having taken

* That Troy was totally ruined and abandoned as early as the time of the poet, is evident from his expressions in many parts both of the Ilias and Odysseia. That it continued to be an uninhabited place was the general opinion of all antiquity.

† Strabo, p. 601. The Lydians are here called semibarbarous in the Greek sense—as using a language and writing not Greek, and yet bearing a great resemblance to it.

possession of Sigeium* and a part of the Chersonesus, that their enlightened sovereigns Pisistratus and his sons †, if they were not the first to collect, arrange, and edit the Ilias,—were at least the first to bring it into notice among the most lettered of the European Greeks ‡. We cannot wonder that the Homeric topography should at that time have become subject to the same kind of uncertainty now found to prevail in regard to such places as Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria of Egypt, and even many cities much more modern.

For the New Ilium founded by the Lydians, colonized afterwards by the Æolians, and augmented and first fortified with a circuit of forty stades by Lysimachus §, a situation was chosen which, being nearer to the sea than that of the ancient city, was better adapted to the more advanced state of commerce and civilization ||. It was very natural that its inhabitants the Ilienses ¶ should pretend that

* Herodot. l. 5. c. 94. Strabo, p. 599.

† The Pisistratidæ lived at Sigeium after their exile from Athens. Herodot. l. 5. c. 65.

‡ Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 13. c. 14.—Pausan. Achaic. c. 26.—Cicero de Orat. l. 3. c. 34.—Epig. in Anthol. l. 4. c. 4.

§ Strabo, p. 593.

|| Thucydides (l. 1. c. 7.) has remarked the effect of the progress of Grecian society, in moving the settlements of the Greeks nearer to the sea-coast.

¶ Ἰλιεῖς. This word is never used by Homer, who always calls the people Trojans, Τρῶες.

their town stood on the site of the ancient city*; and no less so, that a historian of a neighbouring and kindred race should flatter them by concurring in their opinion †. That the conquerors of Asia likewise, and so many other illustrious visitors of Ilium from Xerxes to the Cæsars, when they found it useful to their purposes or grateful to their vanity to sacrifice to Minerva Ilias, should have willingly followed the guidance of the priests to the temple in New Ilium, and should have admitted without inquiry that it stood on the site of the Pergamus of Priam—is nothing more than we should expect under such circumstances. But we know that the claim of the Ilienses was strongly contested during the whole period in which their city flourished. Demetrius of Scepsis and Hestiæa of Alexandria Troas opposed it about the time of the Antiochian war, and Strabo subscribed to their opinion in the Augustan age‡.

Although Demetrius found it impossible to assent to the claim of the Ilienses in this respect, and seems to have been far from implicitly believing in the identity of all the Homeric places pointed out by them §; he appears never to have suspected

* Strabo, pp. 593, 600.

† Hellanicus of Lesbus. Ἑλλάνικος χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἰλιεῦσιν, &c. Strabo, p. 602.

‡ Strabo, p. 599.

§ He says that the greater part of the actions described by the poet were fought in the Scamandrian plain (or Trojan properly so called): and there, he adds, the Ilienses *point out* the Erineus, the tomb of Æsyetes, Batieia, and the tomb of

that the Scamander was any other than the large torrent, to which he found that name then applied from its mouth in the Hellespont to its distant source in the summit of Ida called Cotylus *. It was a necessary consequence (as all those who have concurred in the same belief have experienced) to identify the Simoeis with one of the branches of the Mendere flowing from the eastward. The Ghiumbrek-su, the most important of the Trojan streams after the Mendere and Bunárbashi river, seems to have been that which Strabo (probably following Demetrius †) supposed to be the Simoeis, as may be inferred from his observation that the site of Troy, which he places at the Pagus Iliensium (Paleó

Ilus—τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους τόπους ἐνταῦθα δεικνυμένους ὁρῶμεν, τὸν Ἐρινεὸν &c. Demetr. ap. Strab. p. 597.

* Strabo, p. 602. A passage in the 12th book of the Ilias (v. 20.) has been adduced in favour of the opinion that the Mendere was the Scamander of Homer; because the description there given of the origin of the Scamander in Mount Ida, will better apply to the Mendere than to the Bunárbashi stream, which rises on the edge of the plain. But the same passage makes the Granicus and Æsepus concur with the Scamander and Simoeis in the destruction of the Grecian rampart, though they flow in an opposite direction and fall into the Propontis,—an absurdity which must destroy the geographical authority of the passage, if indeed it be not spurious.

† It is not easy to distinguish the opinions and observations of Strabo from those which he has copied from Demetrius. In general, however, it may be supposed that Strabo had seen little of the Troas himself, and that he therefore followed Demetrius, as a native and a copious writer on the subject. But there is reason to think that even Demetrius saw little of the Troas after his early youth.

Aktshi), was near the river Thymbrius; and that the temple of Apollo Thymbræus at the junction of this river with the Scamander, was 50 stades from New Ilium *; for these data concur in showing that the Kamára-su † was the Thymbrius, and consequently that the Ghiumbrek-su was the Simoeis of the geographer.

But although a site had been found for Troy at Pagus by those who did not subscribe to the claims of the Ilienses in favour of their own site, neither Demetrius nor Strabo was able to discover any springs corresponding to the Scamandrian sources of Homer. Demetrius, having observed how utterly irreconcileable the single source of the Scamander in the distant summit of Mount Ida is with Homer's description of the Scamandrian springs, was under the awkward necessity of imagining that those fountains, wherever they might be, were called the springs of Scamander, not as being in reality the sources, but only because they were near the Scamander, or because they afforded a stream which joined that river ‡. And as the valley and river of Ghiumbrek do not unite with the plain and river of the Mendere till very near the sea, De-

* Strabo, p. 598.

† So called from the ruins of an aqueduct upon arches (καμάρες) which crosses the bed of the river. This aqueduct probably conveyed water from Mount Ida to New Ilium.

‡ Demet. ap. Strab. p. 602.

metrius distinguishes the Simoeisian from the Scamandrian plain *—a distinction, it may be observed, which no where occurs in Homer, and is in fact inconsistent with his topography.

There seems no other mode of obviating these difficulties, inevitably attendant upon taking the Mendere in its whole course for the Homeric Scamander, but to suppose that the river of Bunárbashi was the *ancient* Scamander, that it gave name to the united stream, and that the part of the Mendere above the junction was the Simoeis. The latter name appears to have become obsolete during the ages in which the events of the war of Troy had been almost forgotten on the scene itself, and in the time of Demetrius and Strabo to have been known only to antiquaries inquiring into the topography of the Ilias. The name of Scamander on the other hand, being the more illustrious of the two, and a name apparently of familiar import in Asia Minor †, was retained in use: but as the river of Bunárbashi had lost much of its local importance, and had now become of inferior consideration, the name

* Demetr. ap. Strab. p. 597.

† Scamander, Mæander and Mendere,—which last is now applied by the Turks to three of the rivers of Asia Minor,—seem all to belong to the ancient language of the country, before the introduction of Greek. Scamander may be Sca-Mæander, Sca being perhaps a distinctive prefix to the Trojan Mæander. And the Σκαῖαι πυλαὶ may have received its name from the same word.

of Scamander before attached to the united stream and to the Bunárbashi-su, was after the revival of New Ilium by Lysimachus (and perhaps long before that time) applied to the united stream and to the whole course of the Mendere.

In some of the preceding pages we have had occasion to remark in the instances of the Sangarius, Mæander, and Hermus, how easily the names of two branches of a river are confounded with one another or with the united stream, and how readily they are transferred from the one to the other. In addition to these examples, it may be observed that a similar transmutation of name in two branches of the same river, under circumstances which cannot so easily be accounted for as in the Trojan rivers, is to be found in Thessaly, where the river called by Herodotus and Thucydides Apidanus, is undoubtedly the same as the Enipeus of later writers, whose Apidanus is at twelve miles distance, and joins the other branch not far from the confluence of the united stream with the Peneus.

The principal causes of the obscurity into which the Homeric Scamander (or river of Bunárbashi) had fallen at the time of Demetrius, are sufficiently manifest. When Troy stood at Bunárbashi, it was natural that the river which had its sources under the walls should be one of the *deified* rivers of the district. In the climate of Greece a perennial fountain, however small, was held in at least equal honour with a large torrent affording only water that

was either turbid or stagnant: and we find many proofs in ancient history, and upon ancient monuments, especially coins, of the importance often attached to streams, however diminutive, which flow near the sites of large cities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the river, which from the position of its sources and from its utility was more peculiarly the river of Troy, should, while Troy flourished, have had a preference over the broad torrent in giving name to the united stream; or that its local importance should have ceased when the capital of the district was removed to a situation nearer the sea.

But besides these accidental causes, there were others arising from physical changes which tended to destroy the importance of the river of Bunárbashi. The Mendere and its tributary streams, which flow from Aktshi-Kiúi, from the Kamára valley, from Tshiblak and from Ghiumbrek, being all torrents descending from lofty mountains, bring down with them a great quantity of stones, earth, and other matter: while the Bunárbashi stream, deriving all its water from pure deep-seated veins, has little or no deposit. Hence during the ages which have elapsed since the Trojan war, the eastern side of the plain has been gradually rising; the course of the Mendere has been gradually receding from that side *, and the western side has become more

* A part of the old bed is still to be seen in going from Bunárbashi to Tshiblak.

and more marshy; until at length the Bunárbashi, instead of uniting with the Mendere about the middle of the plain, as in the time of the Trojan war, is now forced to find its way through the marshes on the western side, and from those marshes into the Mendere by two exits not far from Kum-Kale, or towards the ancient Sigeium. Its waters in the plain have been still further diminished by a canal, which carries off a large portion of them into another stream, which joins not the Hellespont, but the Ægean, at a part of the coast situated not less than seven miles from the ancient mouth of the Scamander. Whether this canal is the remains of an ancient work made for the purpose of draining the plain, when it became marshy by the operation of the causes above stated, or whether it was formed by the Turks merely for its present use, of turning some mills, may be doubtful: its effect has been to cut off in summer all communication between the Bunárbashi springs and the marshy ground on the western side of the plain; so that it is only in rainy seasons that the old bed of the river, which is still very traceable, is now filled with water. I shall here take occasion to remark, that the manner in which the alluvion collects in this plain, as already described, will account for an apparent difficulty in regard to those passages of the Ilias which shew that the Scamander (the united stream) flowed on the left of the

Grecian encampment, or toward Rhœteium *, instead of towards Sigeium, as might be inferred from Strabo † and present appearances: for it is evident from the causes mentioned, that the altered course of the river would be to the westward of the former course; and consequently that when there was a bay at the mouth of the Scamander, the river probably issued into that bay, not towards its western, but towards its eastern side ‡. No appearance of a bay indeed is now visible; but its former existence is undoubted, as well from the testimony of

* This has been admitted by nearly all the writers on the Trojan question, but has been stated with particular clearness by Major Rennell (Observations, Sect. IV.). I shall therefore merely cite the verse of Homer, which furnishes the direct proof.

. . . . . Ἕκτωρ
. . . . . μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ μάρνατο πάσης,
Ὄχθας πὰρ ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου. . . . . .
Il. Λ. v. 497.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the poet here, as elsewhere, speaks of the left of the Greeks. Hector was opposed to Ajax, whose station was on the Greek left.

† Strabo, p. 597, 598.

‡ In the time of Strabo (or Demetrius) the mouth of the river was 20 stades distant from New Ilium: it has now moved still further west, and joins the sea close to Kum-Kale. The small harbour under Intepe (or the tomb of Ajax) is the modern representative of the portus Achæorum, which was the port of New Ilium, and the nearest point of the coast to that city. Strabo, p. 598. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 30. Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 18. Naustathmum was near the place where the river joined the sea in the time of the geographer.

Homer as from the physical structure of the land. Instead of two promontories with a beach between them, as described by the poet, there is now only one low point of land, which has been formed betwen the two ancient capes by the soil brought down from the upper country by the river, and deposited at its mouth in the course of ages. The rate at which the new land has accumulated may be inferred from Strabo and Pliny, from whom it appears that in their time New Ilium was distant about a Roman mile and a half from the nearest shore *. Now it appears from the existing vestiges of New Ilium, by those of its citadel on the summit of the hill of Paleó Kastro, which rises behind Kalafatli, and Kum Kiui, and by other remains on the western slope of that hill,—that the lower part of the town reached nearly to the position of Kum Kiui, which is three miles from the shore, or more than double the distance assigned by Strabo. Allowing therefore the same rate of accumulation between the Trojan war and the Augustan age, as since that period, it becomes probable that in the former age the sea reached to about half a mile below the position of Kum Kiui: and consequently that Hestiæa of Alexandria was nearly correct in supposing that all the plain below the hill of New Ilium had been gained from the sea since

* Strabo says 12 stadia; Pliny, 1500 Roman paces.

the time of the Trojan war *,—the sandy ground at the extremity of the slope of that hill, which gives name to Kum Kiui (Sand-village), marks perhaps what was at one period the sea beach. To those who may think this formation of new land overrated †, it is to be observed, that in every instance in which the history of Greece has left us the means of comparison, the same phænomenon has occurred in the maritime plains; and that in the instances of the Spercheius and Mæander, but particularly of the latter, the soil has been formed in the same period of time with a much greater rapidity.

From all these considerations, therefore, it seems highly probable that the mouth of the Scamander in the time of the Trojan war was not far from

* Hestiæa ap. Strab. p. 599.

† A late writer on the Trojan question (Mr. Maclaren) particularly insists on this supposed error, and conceives the sandy point of Kum Kale to be nearly in the same state as it was in the Trojan war; founding his opinion chiefly on the rapidity of the current of the Hellespont, which must, he thinks, have carried away the soil almost as quickly as it was brought down. But the cape of new formation which lies between Kum Kale and Intepe is surely a proof that the current has had no such effect; and in fact every one who has navigated the Hellespont knows that there is a strong counter current along the two shores, the effect of which has probably contributed to form that cape. Strabo (p. 599.) has collected the passages of Homer which support his opinion that Troy stood far from the sea; and these alone seem fatal to the new hypothesis brought forward by the author just alluded to—that of its position at New Ilium.

the situation now occupied by the village of Kum Kiui, and that the river of Bunárbashi or Scamander, instead of then creeping along the foot of the southern and western heights, crossed the plain from near Erkessi in the direction of Kum Kiui, and that it joined the Mendere or Simoeis towards the middle of the plain, perhaps not far from the present village of Kalafatli. The passages of the Ilias in which the πόρος, or ford of the Scamander is mentioned, tend to show that such must have been the course of the river, if Troy stood at Bunárbashi; and we have seen that the nature of the plain, and the manner in which the alluvion has been accumulated, render such a state of the river in ancient times highly probable.

A third objection to Bunárbashi as the site of Troy is, that its distance from the Grecian station at the mouth of the Scamander is so great as to render impossible some of the events of the Ilias. In considering this distance, however, we must first deduct from the actual distance of Bunárbashi from the nearest shore, the new land formed since the Trojan war, together with the *depth* of the Grecian encampment, which in *length* extended from the foot of the hill of Achilleium on the right, to the mouth of the Scamander on the left. The new land we have already seen to have been nearly all that which now lies below Kum Kiui. The following are the only circumstances

upon which we may build a judgement as to the extent of the Grecian encampment.

According to the poet, the bay was too narrow to contain the whole fleet, which was therefore arranged in several lines*. Although nothing but necessity could have made the Greeks submit to having any of their vessels at a distance from the sea, and that we may therefore suppose the number of lines to have been as few as possible, the poet's expression will hardly allow the supposition that there were fewer than four or five lines. And this number agrees very well with the dimensions of the ground: for if we allow 25 feet for the breadth of each ship, added to the interval between it and the next, we shall find that about one-fifth of 1200, which is the amount of Homer's enumeration †, would have been sufficient to occupy the space of one mile and a quarter, to which the rear of the Greek encampment was confined by the hill of Achilleium on the right, and by the river on the left, supposing its mouth to have been near Kum Kiui‡.

* Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ', εὐρύς περ ἐὼν, ἐδυνήσατο πάσας
Αἰγιαλὸς νῆας χαδέειν· στείνοντο δὲ λαοί·
Τῷ ῥὰ προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν, καὶ πλῆσαν ἀπάσης
Ἠιόνος στόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνεέργαθον ἄκραι. Il. Ξ. v.33.

† Thucydides (l. 1. c. 10.) verifies our copies of the catalogue by remarking that the total number of ships was 1200.

‡ In one passage (O. 676) the poet seems to represent Ajax as striding from ship to ship: but if some of the vessels were so closely arranged as to have admitted of such an action,

For the breadth or depth of the encampment it would not be necessary to assign more than three or four hundred yards, if it were measured only by the length of the ships, added to the necessary interval between the rows: but it is obvious that a large space must, either in the length or depth of the encampment, have been required for the tents of the leaders, for the chariots and horses, for the market, and for the places to contain the cattle and other commodities which the Greeks collected for provisions, or to be exchanged for wine *. In short, for a permanent encampment of between 50,000 and 100,000 men †, with a front of a mile and a quarter, a depth of not less than half a mile would be necessary. Such a space would not be greater than was required by the Romans for their encampments ‡; in which, although there was ample accommodation for the several departments of the army, there was no necessity for the space required in the camp before Troy, for the ships, and for some of the other incumbrances in-

a greater width must have been necessary between the divisions than if each vessel was isolated: so that in either case the *entire* space required will be nearly the same.

* Il. H. v. 467.

† About one hundred thousand is the result of the calculation of Thucydides; and the extent of country from which the army was collected will hardly allow of a smaller number. We may admit, however, with the historian, that a large part of them was always absent collecting plunder and provisions.

‡ Polyb. l. 6. c. 27, &c. See Lipsius de Mil. Rom. l. 5.

cidental to its permanence. On the one hand we can hardly restrict the Greek camp to a smaller space than I have mentioned, because it would have been insufficient to contain the ships and tents: on the other, a much larger can hardly be assigned; because the inconvenience of having any of the ships at a distance from the sea-shore would be a powerful motive for contracting the space towards the plain, and because the poet expressly states that the army was crowded *.

In considering, therefore, the transactions of the Ilias, the present distance of Bunárbashi from the mouth of the Scamander must be diminished about three miles and a half, in order to give the distance between Troy and the Grecian rampart, which will thus be reduced to about six miles.

The events which have been considered most inconsistent with the distance of Bunárbashi from the Hellespont, are those occurring on the days called by Pope the 23d and 28th; the former day occupies the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and the greater part of the 7th books of the poem; the 28th day extends from the beginning of the 11th to the middle of the 18th book.

On the 23d day the Greeks are drawn out, after

* στείνοντο δὲ λαοί. These words, however, seem more to relate to the unusual and somewhat dangerous expedient of doubling the ranks of ships, in consequence of the narrowness of the beach, than to the crowded state of the army in general.

their forenoon's repast, in the plain lying between the rampart and the Scamander; and from thence they advance to the city, where, after the duel between Menelaus and Paris, the armies join battle with alternate success. At one time the Trojans have so far prevailed as to have approached the Greek camp*; and at another, the Greeks are again near the city†. Hector then rallies his army; a duel ensues between him and Ajax, which is put an end to by the approach of night‡, and the Greeks retire to their encampment. It does not seem necessary to suppose that the ground passed over by the Greeks on this day is more than 20 or 22 miles; six of which were performed after the close of day.

On the 28th day the two armies drawn out in the plain before the Greek encampment, fought only with the light troops until the hour of the woodman's meal §, which, to judge by modern customs, was about 9 or 10 o'clock in the forenoon. The charioteers of the two armies having then come to action, the Greeks had the superiority, and beat back the Trojans quite to the walls of Troy ||, where Agamemnon being wounded, Hector in turn leads the victorious Trojans to the Grecian rampart, forces it, and fights at the ships. Patroclus then advances to battle in the armour of

* Il. E. v. 791. † Z. v. 256, 435. ‡ H. v. 282.
§ Λ. v. 86. || Λ. v. 170.

Achilles, and drives the Trojans back to the city. Here he is slain, and the Trojans again advance near to the Greek camp before the day closes *. As the movements on this day carry the parties quite up to the hostile fortifications, the distance passed over is in so much, but no more, greater than on the 23d day; and 24 miles seems to be the utmost distance that we are obliged to suppose the Greeks to have passed over on this day.

In considering the probability of these exploits, we must take into consideration that whatever may have been the proportion of the infantry to the chariots, the extreme distances appear to have been performed only by the latter; for Homer, in all the great movements from the Greek camp to Troy, and from Troy to the Greek camp, as well as in all the principal actions, notices the chariots only. Even in the assault of the wall, in the beginning of the 12th book, Hector descends from his chariot; and all the other Trojans, adds the poet, follow his example.

Not much argument, however, seems necessary against objections which, when allowed in their fullest force, are founded only on the exaggerations of a poet, to whom, however accurate as a geographer and historian when it was his object to be so, we cannot refuse the usual poetical liberties in some of the most animated descriptions which his work

* Σ. v. 239.

contains. If the labours of the Trojan and Grecian heroes in the two days the events of which are thought to disprove the position of Troy at Bunárbashi, were too great for ordinary men; they were not beyond the power of heroes who could hurl such rocks as two men in the time of the poet were unable even to lift *; who could make their voices heard from the centre to either extremity †, or even from the one end to the other ‡ of an encampment of sixty or eighty thousand men; and who could see so clearly, that Helen is able from the walls of Troy to point out and minutely describe all the leaders of the Grecian host, when the whole Trojan army lay between §. It is evident that these are fictions which the Muse allows and encourages; and instances of them are so frequent throughout the poem, that it cannot be necessary to make any more particular reference to them. At one time the poet found it convenient to magnify beyond probability, or even beyond possibility, the common occurrences of war; at another, to bring together the actions of an extensive field, in order to present them to view in one continued scene.

A fourth objection which has been made against the site of Bunárbashi is, that in this position it would have been impossible for Achilles to have pursued Hector three times round the walls of Troy,

* Il. E. v. 303. Υ. v. 286.
† Θ. v. 222.
‡ Π. v. 77.
§ Γ. v. 178.

as Homer relates. But does Homer really so relate? It cannot be denied that many interpreters, ancient and modern, have understood the poet in this sense; and it is perhaps the most obvious meaning to a cursory reader, who does not particularly consider the fact described, or who has not, by a view of the site of Troy, been convinced of its extreme improbability. Virgil, however, who in the latter part of the 12th book of the Æneis, has very closely imitated every part of Homer's description of the encounter between Achilles and Hector, seems to have understood his prototype very differently. He does not represent Turnus as pursued by his adversary *round* the walls of Laurentum, but as forming a circle in a plain which was bounded by those walls, by a marsh, and by the Trojan army. In like manner the pursuit of Hector by Achilles occurred in sight of the Trojans, collected on the ramparts on one side, and of the Grecian army drawn out in the plain on the other. And the poet, in describing the action, mentions no objects passed by Hector and Achilles, except the Scæan or Dardanian gate, the carriage-way under the walls, the Erineus, and the source of the Scamander *; all places which we know to have been on the side of the city towards the plain. Can it be supposed that Homer intended to describe the heroes as following such a track as must have concealed them entirely from the view of both armies, except in a small portion of the circle?

* Il. X. v. 131.

It has justly been observed by Lechevalier and Choiseul Gouffier that the word περὶ, which has given rise to the erroneous interpretation of this passage, means, in other passages* perfectly similar, *near* or *before* the city, and not *around* it. To this I may add, that no supposed situation of the city, which is not entirely in the plain, will suit the idea of a course round the entire circuit of the walls; and that such a situation would be totally unadapted to the description which Homer has given of Troy, as windy †, lofty ‡, and as surmounted with a citadel bordered by precipices §. Strabo in fact, following Demetrius, makes use of this very argument to prove that the ancient city did not stand at New Ilium; round which, he remarks, it would have been impossible for Achilles to have pursued Hector ‖. It would seem, therefore, that the poet, as a keen observer of nature, intended to describe that circular course, which a person invariably takes when he runs from another, and finds no shelter or advantageous position for defending himself. The track of the two heroes was from the Scæan gate, along the road under the walls, by the Erineus, and by the fountains of the Scamander back again to the

* Il. B. 508. Z. 327. Π. 448. Σ. 279.
† Il. Γ. 395. Θ. 499. M. 115. N. 724. Σ. 174. Ψ. 64, 297.
‡ Il. N. 625.
§ Il. Δ. 508. Z. 512. E. 460. X. 411. Ω. 700.
‖ Strabo, p. 599.

Scæan gate. Ὡς οἱ τρὶς Πριάμοιο πόλιν περὶ δινηθήτην*.

It remains to offer a few remarks in justification of the north-eastern portion of the map which accompanies the present volume. This part of Asia Minor was called Pontus by the Romans, from its bordering on the Euxine *sea:* though it still retained the divisions of its ancient inhabitants, the Bithyni, Maryandini, Caucones, and Paphlagones. Here, as in many other parts of the peninsula, modern travellers have not yet afforded us sufficient information to enable us to make the best use of the evidence of ancient history. The astronomical observations of M. Beauchamp and Capt. Gauttier have been of great importance in giving the correct length of the coast, its general outline, and the exact position of the principal places: but it requires such a careful survey as that of the southern coast by Capt. Beaufort, to illustrate fully the three ancient Periplus of the Pontic coast †, and to correct the numerical

* X. 1165.

† These Periplus are: 1. By Arrian, governor of Cappadocia under Hadrian. 2. By Marcian of Heraclia Pontica, who is supposed to have lived about a century later than Arrian. And, 3. By an anonymous author, who has collected his information from the two former, and from some other sources. He is of a much later date than the two others, as appears from the names of his own time, which he has annexed to some of the ancient names, and by the miles which he has subjoined to the stades.

errors which their disagreement with one another proves to exist in them.

On the sea-coast all the most important sites of antiquity are determined by the actual names.—These sites are *Rhebas*, now Ríva; *Calpe*, Kerpe; the river *Sangarius*, Sakaría; *Heraclia*, Erégri; the river *Parthenius*, Bartan, in Greek Parthéni; *Amastris*, Amásera; *Cytorus*, Kídros; *Thymena*, Temena; *Carambis*, Kerempe; *Abonuteichus*, afterward *Ionopolis*, Ainábolí; *Cinolis*, Kinóli; *Stephane*, Istefán, in Greek Stéfanos; *Sinope*, Sinub, in Greek Sinópi; *Carusa*, Kerze; *Amisus*, Samsun. With these data it will not be difficult for the future traveller to fix the intermediate names of the three Periplus: especially as existing vestiges of antiquity, and the rivers which form a large proportion of the ancient names, will greatly facilitate the task.

Although the route along this coast, in the Peutinger Table, is unworthy of much notice, and conveys very little information, it is right to point out the obvious correction of one remarkable error which it contains. The author, misled by the similarity of the name of Amastris (written Mastrum in the Table) with that of Amasia, has substituted the coast-road from Amastris to Sinope for that leading from Amasia to Sinope. Of this the names along the latter route in the Table, although disfigured, leave no doubt.—Cromen, Cy-

thero, Egilan, Carambas, Stefano, Syrtas, are obviously intended for Cromna, Cytorum, Ægiali, Carambis, Stephane, Syrias; and the sum of the distances, 149 M. P., is tolerably correct. It is probable, therefore, that the two roads should change places in the Table; although it must be confessed that no proof of this inference is to be found in the road of the Table from Mastrum to Sinope; for the sum of the distances of the three places on that route is not above half the real road-distance, and I can find no traces of their names (Tycæ, Cereæ, and Miletus) in any other ancient author.

Another and a more important defect in the routes of the Table through Paphlagonia, is the omission of the name of the place which by its *two towers* is shown to have been the most remarkable on the road leading from Nicomedia to Gangra, with a branch to Amasia. As this route of the Table lies between the coast road and that leading from Nicæa to Amasia by Juliopolis, Ancyra, and Tavium, it seems evidently to have been the same as the modern road from Nicomedia to Amasia by Boli; for the structure of the country, and the direction of its mountains, passes, valleys, and rivers, must naturally have led the main ancient road in the same direction as the modern. The position in the Table of the place with two towers without a name, relatively to the two ends of the route, shows that it

stood on or about the site now occupied by Boli. Now Boli is evidently an abbreviation of some name ending in Polis, which in process of time was vulgarly used in that form, like ἡ πόλις for Constantinople. In Honorias, which under Constantine formed a district separate from Paphlagonia proper, lying between it and Bithynia, there were three places with the termination of polis—Claudiopolis, or Bithynium; Flaviopolis, or Cratia; and Hadrianopolis*. The other towns of Honorias were Tium, Heraclia Pontica, and Prusias on the Hypius; so that the district seems to have chiefly comprehended the country lying between the Sangarius and the Billæus. Bithynium or Claudiopolis was on the Sangarius†; and having been originally a colony from Greece‡, was probably not far from the mouth of that river, Greek colonies having generally settled in maritime situations, as we see instanced in several cities on this coast. Flaviopolis was twenty or thirty miles from Claudiopolis, on the road leading from that place to Ancyra§; consequently to the westward of Boli. Boli, therefore, seems to have been the ancient Hadrianopolis. It is singular that among the numerous inscriptions

* Ptolem. l. 5. c. 1. Hierocl. Synecd. p. 694. Notit. Episc Græc.

† Pausan. Arcad. c. 9. Stephan. in Βιθύνιον.

‡ From Mantineia in Arcadia. Pausan. ibid.

§ Itin. Anton. p. 200.

which so many travellers agree in having observed near Boli, not one should yet have been copied, containing the name of the ancient city.

The other places on this road in the Table have been inserted in the Map, in the situations which I have thought the most probable, trusting less to the distances in the Table, (which are probably not more correct in detail than they are in the general result,) than to the situation of the valleys and fertile districts. Potamia, a place which Strabo has noticed as being in this part of the country*, seems to have stood in the valley of Beinder, where the branches of the Parthenius first unite into a considerable stream.

On another route in the Table, which crosses the preceding nearly at right angles, the only place named between Gangra and Sinope is Pompeiopolis. This place seems to have occupied the site of Tash Kiupri, as well from the position of that modern town, as from the considerable remains of antiquity found there, and which are apparently of the date when Pompeiopolis may be supposed to have flourished.

Of Germanicopolis, or Germanopolis, we know only that it was one of the principal places of the interior of Paphlagonia, and that it continued to be so in the sixth century†. It has probably left

* Strabo, p. 562.

† Ptolem. l. 5. c. 4. Justinian. Novel. 29. c. 1.

some remains similar to those of Pompeiopolis, though they have not yet been discovered by modern travellers. D'Anville supposed Germanicopolis to have occupied the site of Kastamúni; but the words in the Novellæ of Justinian seem to place it near Gangra *.—Kastamúni is the modern corruption of Castamon, which we find menioned in the Byzantine history †, and which may have been a more ancient name, although it is not found in Ptolemy, nor in any authority earlier than the 12th century.

The subordinate districts of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia Pontica; namely, Timonitis, Bogdomanis, Zygiani, Marmolitis, Blaene, Domanitis, Cimiatene, Gazelonitis, Saramene, Phamezonitis, Diacopene, Babamonitis,—have been inserted in the map, from the information, as well as it could be understood, of Strabo and Ptolemy; and some of the Turkish names from the still obscurer description of Abubekr Ben Behrem.

It is much to be regretted that no modern traveller has visited Tshorúm, which there is the strongest reason to believe occupies the site of Tavium, the chief fortress of the Trocmi, and a very important point in the ancient itineraries.

Upon comparing the road from Tavium to Cæ-

* See the Note on Σόρα in Hieroc. Synec. p. 695. ed. Wess.

† Anna Comn. l. 7. p. 206. Nicet. in Joan. Comn. Chalcocond. l. 9. p. 259.

sareia (Mazaca) in the Table with that in the Antonine itinerary, we find that none of the names agree—that the distance in the Table is nearly double that in the Antonine—and that both of them give an incorrect rate to the Roman mile. It might be supposed, in explanation of this difficulty, that there were two roads from Tavium to Cæsareia; but I am inclined to think there is some error here in the Antonine, as it places Soanda on this road, which we have good authority for believing to have been in a very different situation, namely, on the great western road from Cæsareia, between that city and Garsabora *.

* Artemid. ap. Strab. p. 663.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

I HAVE reserved to this place all observations on the geographical information contained in the Latin historians of the 12th century, who have described the first crusade *; because, upon a careful examination of it, I have not found any thing either to invalidate or materially to confirm that which is deducible from the ancients or from the Byzantines. At the same time there are several passages in the Latin historians which may receive some illustration from the cotemporary Greeks, or from the ancient geographical authorities.

NOTE TO PAGE 9.

The following is the substance of a short account, by Anna Comnena, of the military operations in Bithynia in the autumn of the year 1096, which proved fatal to so many of the followers of Peter the Hermit. Peter having passed over into Asia, contrary to the advice which the Emperor Alexius gave him to wait for the other crusaders who were then on the way, encamped at Helenopolis, from whence the Normans proceeded to ravage the country around Nicæa; and having successfully defended themselves against a body of Turks, which advanced against them, they carried back their spoil in safety to Helenopolis. In a second expedition they occupied the fort of Xerigordus; but the sultan Kilidj Arslan, having sent one of his officers against them, retook that place, slew many of the Normans, and made many of them prisoners. He then sent two men to raise a report in the camp at Helenopolis, that the Normans had taken possession of Nicæa, and were plundering it; when the other troops, de-

* Gesta Dei per Francos.

sirous of sharing in the spoil, proceeded in a disorderly manner towards Nicæ : and thus they fell into an ambuscade which the Sultan had stationed in a place called Draco, and were cut to pieces. The number that fell was so great that their bones formed a mountain. Peter then retired to Helenopolis, where he was invested by the Turks : but the Emperor, unwilling that he should be taken, sent his officer Catacalon with some ships to his succour, upon whose arrival the Turks retired, and Peter returned with his surviving followers into Europe.

From the Latins there is great difficulty in extracting any clear account of these events, which may partly be ascribed to the want of a good map, partly to the ignorance of the authors in ancient geography, but chiefly to the circumstance of none of those writers having been personally engaged in Peter's imprudent expedition. They agree tolerably well with the Greek Princess in regard to the principal events, but are at variance both with her and with one another as to many of the particulars. They relate that the crusaders, having crossed the Bosphorus, marched to Nicomedia, and from thence to a place on the sea-side called Civitot or Civito, where they were amply supplied with provisions by sea. The French troops, separating from the others, spread themselves over the country and took possession of an abandoned fortress called Exerogorgo (the Xerigordus of Anna Comnena), the situation of which is variously described as four days beyond Nicomedia, as four days beyond Nicæa, and as three or four miles from the latter. Here they were soon surrounded by the Turks, who cut off their supply of water, slew many of them, and at length, by the treachery of one of the French chieftains named Reynald, captured many more. Soon after this event there was a general action in the field, which was fatal to the gallant military commander of Peter's army, Gauthier Sansavoir, (Walter the moneyless,) as well as to several other distinguished leaders. The exact scene of action it is very difficult to understand, though it rather appears from a comparison of Anna Comnena with Albert of Aix-la-Chapelle, and William of Tyre, the two Latin authors who have given the fullest account of these transactions, to have been at the northern extremity of the plain of Nicæa, and on the

adjoining hills. The chief slaughter of the Franks seems to have occurred in the passes leading from thence to the sea, of which passes the Turks had made themselves masters during the action, unknown to the enemy. According to the Latin historians, a part of their army found its way back to Civitot, where they were speedily surrounded by the Turks, and where they would have been in great danger of being all slain or taken, had not the Turks been induced, by the mediation of Alexis, to retire, and to leave the crusaders at liberty to return to Constantinople.

It naturally occurs, on reading these two accounts of the same events, that Helenopolis, which name is not found in the Gesta Dei per Francos, was the same place which the authors of that collection mean by Civitot; but a little further examination will show this supposition to be inadmissible. In the first place, the passage of Procopius referred to in page 8 of this volume * is a convincing proof that Helenopolis was on the shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia. Procopius, in complaining of the injury which Justinian had done to the imperial establishment for the relay of horses on all the great post roads of the empire †, remarks in particular, that the abolition of the post from Chalcedon to Dacibyza had obliged all persons who were going from Constantinople to Helenopolis to cross the sea in small boats, which often exposed them to great danger. It is evident, as well from this passage of Procopius as from several others in Anna Comnena, that Helenopolis was the usual place of debarkation for those going from the capital to Nicæa and the south eastward, as the Dil or Glossa is at present; and hence Constantine turned his attention to this important point soon after he had established the seat of empire at Byzantium, giving to the village of Drepanum ‡, which before stood there, the name of Helenopolis in honour of his mother. From the same sense of its importance,

* Procop. Hist. Secr. c. 30.

† In each interval that might be traversed by a foot passenger in a day, there were several inns, and at each inn 40 horses and as many grooms,—so that a courier could perform in one day a distance equal to ten pedestrian journeys. Justinian substituted asses for horses, and left only one inn, where before there had been from five to eight.

‡ Nicephor. Callist. l. 7. c. 49.

Justinian augmented Helenopolis, and constructed there an aqueduct, a bath, and other buildings *.

Secondly, it cannot be doubted that the barbarous name Civitot or Civito, which, like many other parts of the narrative, the authors of the Gesta Dei have copied from one another, is no other than the Κιβωτὸς (pronounced Kivotó in modern Greek) of Anna Comnena. In the following year we find that it was the place of debarkation and maritime supply for the crusaders, especially during their operations before Nicæa; and it clearly appears, upon a comparison of the Latin historians with Anna, to have been in the Gulf of Cius, and not far from that city: for the former state that, in order to complete the blockade of Nicæa, and to prevent the Turks in the city from receiving succours by the lake, boats were collected at Civitot and conveyed from thence overland into the lake; while from the Greek princess we learn † that this operation, which according to her was performed by placing the boats in chariots, took place on the side of the lake towards Cius. Here, in fact, the ground was more favourable to it than in any part of the borders of the lake, and here also the lake approaches nearest to the sea, the interval being, as Albert of Aix remarks, about seven miles.

As to the statement of Anna, that Alexius sent ships to the assistance of Peter, when invested by the Turks at Helenopolis, compared with that of the Latin historians, who represent Civitot to have been the last retreat of the crusaders, the only mode of reconciling this apparent contradiction is to suppose that the defeated and dispersed crusaders retreated through the woods to both those places, that both were invested by the victorious Turks, but that it was to Helenopolis that Alexius sent his admiral, whose interference with the Turks liberated the Franks at Cibotus, as well as those who were shut up in Helenopolis.

NOTE TO PAGE 18.

The Latin historians are at variance with one another, and with Anna Comnena, in many of the circumstances attending the march of the crusaders, after the capture of Nicæa, to the

* Procop. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 2. † Ann. Comn. p. 312.

plain of Dorylæum, and relating to the great battle which took place there. Thus much however may be gathered from them : that the crusaders moved in a single line in two days from Nicæa to Leucæ ; that at Leucæ they crossed the Gallus by a bridge, and halted for two days to refresh themselves and their cattle in that fertile valley. They then divided themselves into two bodies ; that which was accompanied by Godfrey took the road to the right, (the road probably which now leads through Bozavik,) while Bohemond and the remainder of the forces pursued the direct route to Dorylæum. On the fourth day, the latter corps being then, as it appears, encamped on the banks of the Thymbres in the plain of Dorylæum not far to the westward of that town, was attacked by an immense army of Turks under Kilidj Arslan. They supported the unequal contest from the 2d to the 8th hour of the day, when Godfrey, who had received from the messengers of Bohemond intelligence of what was occurring, arrived, and, making an immediate attack on the flank and rear of the Sultan's army, gained a complete victory over them.

NOTE TO PAGES 37, 58.

The crusaders now marched in a single body and suffered extreme distress from a want of water in the dry and barren country which they had to traverse, until they arrived at a river which appears to have been at no great distance from Antioch the Less, or Antiocheia of Pisidia. At this city several chieftains with their followers separated themselves from the main body and pursued different routes ; the remainder moved forward to Iconium. It must be admitted, that if the evidence as to the position of Antiocheia of Pisidia contained in this part of the Gesta Dei is not sufficient to overthrow that of Strabo and the Peutinger Table,—both which authorities tend to show that it was not exactly on the modern route from Eski Shehr to Konia by Bulwudun and Ak Shehr,—it is at least a proof that Antiocheia lay not far from that line. The river which relieved the sufferings of the crusaders seems to have been that which flows through the plain of Karahissár to the lake of Bulwudún.

NOTE TO PAGE 65.

The princess Anna is silent as to all the proceedings of the crusaders between the battle of Dorylæum and their arrival before Antioch of Syria. But the Latins agree in stating that, after marching from Iconium, they arrived at a place which is variously spelt Erachia, Eraclia, Heraclea, Reclei; and that here they turned to the right through the mountains to Tarsus. Some of them add, that on the first day from Iconium they were obliged to take a provision of water in skins, because none was met with at the end of that day's journey; that on the second day they arrived at a river, and on the third at Heraclea. This account of the country through which the crusaders marched after quitting Iconium, is in every respect so accurate a description of the route from Konia to Tarsus through Erkle, that no doubt can remain of Erkle having been the place at which they arrived at the end of the third day's march from Iconium,—and hence the authority of their historians may perhaps have been considered a proof that Erkle is the position of one of the many Greek cities called Heracleia. I have already remarked, however, that there does not appear at any period of ancient history to have been a Heracleia in this quarter of Asia Minor; and I have stated my reasons for thinking that Erkle is a corruption not of Ἡράκλεια but of Ἀρχαλλα. It must be recollected that the Mussulmans had been in possession of that part of the country 400 years before the arrival of the crusaders, and that sufficient time therefore had elapsed for the Greek name to have assumed the form of corruption which it now bears: Albert of Aix, who writes it Reclei, which nearly represents the present sound, furnishes us with a strong presumption that it really had then assumed that form.

It is natural that the historians of the crusade, having a sufficient degree of learning to write in Latin, but no profound knowledge of ancient geography, should have had just so much familiarity with the name of Heraclea as would lead them to suppose Erkle to be a corruption of Heraclea, and would induce them to translate it in Latin by that word. It has been seen, however, that they did not all so convert it. Tudebode, Arch-

bishop Baldric, and the Abbot Guibert, all write it Erachia. Upon the whole, therefore, I find nothing in the Gesta Dei which invalidates the conjecture of Erkle being the site of Archalla.

NOTE TO PAGE 60.

In addition to the other proofs which I have given in the note to this page of the little dependence that can be placed on Xenophon's description of the route of Cyrus through Asia Minor, the following may also be mentioned: Xenophon states that there were three stations or thirty parasangs between Colossæ and Celænæ: the distance by the road is not more than 30 miles.

NOTE TO PAGE 117.

The following is the description of Cilicia by Ammianus: "Superatis Tauri montis verticibus, qui ad solis ortum sublimius attolluntur, Cilicia spatiis porrigitur late distentis, dives bonis omnibus terra ejusque lateri dextro adnexa Isauria; pari sorte uberi palmite viret, et frugibus multis; quam mediam navigabile flumen Calycadnus interscindit. Et hanc quidem, præter oppida multa, duæ civitates exornant; Seleucia opus Seleuci regis, et Claudiopolis quam deduxit coloniam Claudius Cæsar. Isaura .... ægre vestigia claritudinis pristinæ monstrat admodum pauca." Ammian. l. 14. c. 25. The situation of Mout between the two great parallel ridges of Taurus corresponds exactly with that of Claudiopolis as described by Theophanes: Κλαυδιοπόλεως ... τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ταύρων ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένης. In the 3rd year of the Emperor Anastasius, Claudiopolis, which had been recently recovered by Diogenes from the Isaurians, was again suddenly invested by them and reduced to the greatest extremity, when it was opportunely relieved by John Cyrtus and Conon bishop of Apameia, who suddenly crossing the passes of Taurus (those between Mout and Láranda), were assisted by a sortie of Diogenes, and thus completely defeated the Isaurians. The bishop died of a wound which he received in the action. Theoph. Chronog. p. 119.

Strabo (p. 672) describes a very ancient Greek colony of the name of Olbe, founded by Ajax, son of Teucer, and which had a temple of Jupiter that preserved its sanctity and importance through many revolutions. He places Olbe in the mountains behind Soli and Cyinda, which, although not a very accurate description of the situation of the valley of Mout, seems sufficient to identify the Olbe of Strabo with the Olbasa which Ptolemy places in the Citis or valley of the Calycadnus. Nothing indeed is more probable than that this spacious, fertile, and easily defensible valley should have attracted a colony of Greeks at an early period. Hierocles mentions both Olbe and Claudiopolis in the province of Isauria, of which in his time Seleucia was the chief town. It appears also from the Notitiæ, that they were separate Greek bishoprics.

NOTE TO PAGE 182.

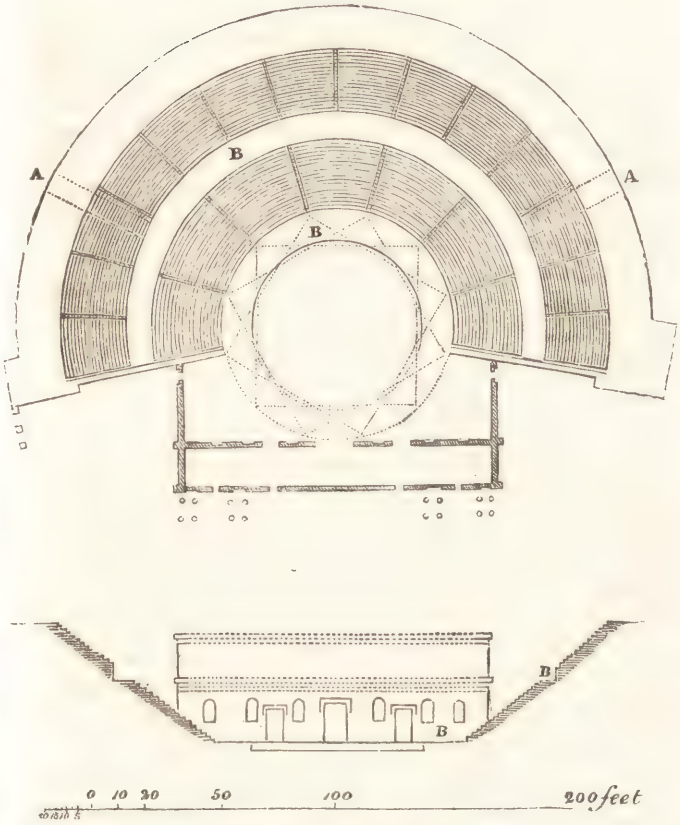
The theatre of Telmissus is smaller than that of Patara. According to Foucherot, (see Choiseul Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, tome 1. pl. 72) the diameter of the theatre of Telmissus was 238 French feet, equal to 254 English. That of Patara is 265 (not 295 as stated in page 182). At Telmissus the cavea contained 28 seats divided by a diazoma at the fifteenth seat from the bottom. The theatre of Patara had about 30 rows of seats. At Patara are the ruins of a bath, an inscription upon which shows that it was erected by the Emperor Vespasian. The theatre was built in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

NOTE TO PAGE 183.

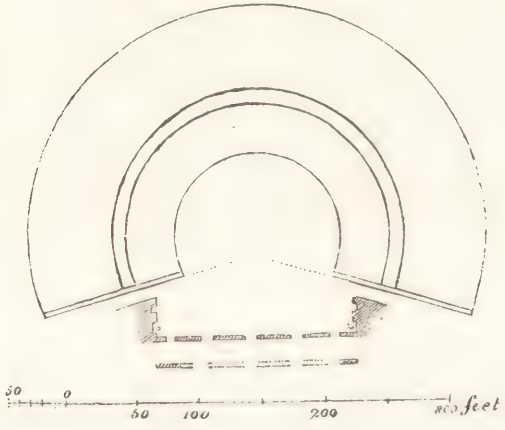
By the kindness of Mr. Cockerell, I am enabled to submit to the reader a plan on a small scale of the theatre of Patara, together with a sketch of the form and dimensions of the theatre of Myra. Their construction resembles that of the other theatres of Asia Minor, as exemplified at Side *, Telmissus, Miletus, Hierapolis, Laodiceia, and in several other smaller theatres. It differs from that of the theatres of European

* For the details of the theatre of Side, from the drawings of Mr. Cockerell, see the Karamania of Captain Beaufort.—The theatre of Side is of the largest size, and is in better preservation than any in Asia Minor.

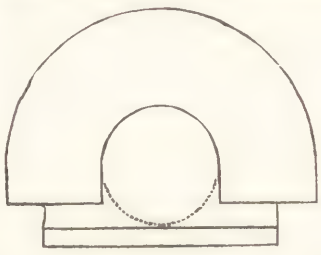
THEATRE OF PATARA.



THEATRE OF MYRA.



Greece in the form of the extremities of the cavea, as far as we can judge from such of the European Greek theatres as are sufficiently preserved to show the construction of that part of the building. In the Asiatic theatres the ends of the cavea diverged from the orchestra, so as to form an oblique angle to the direction of the scene. We find, on the contrary, that in the theatres of Segeste, Tauromenium, Syracuse, Sparta, Epidaurus, Sicyon, in the theatre of Herodes at Athens, and in that near Ioannina in Epirus, the extremities of the cavea vere parallel to the scene. In both, the cavea exceeded a semicircle; but in the Asiatic theatres the excess was formed by producing the same curve at either extremity of the semicircle, until the cavea occupied from 200 to 225 degrees of a circle *; whereas at Tauromenium, Sicyon, Epidaurus, and in the theatre near Ioannina, the excess above a semicircle is formed by two right lines drawn from the extremities of the semicircle perpendicular to its diameter and to the direction of the scene, as in the annexed figure †.



At Syracuse, the cavea was a semicircle and no more. In the theatre of Herodes at Athens, the excess above a semicircle was a curve, and it is therefore an exception to the European rule. The other theatres of European Greece are too much ruined to admit of any certainty on this point.

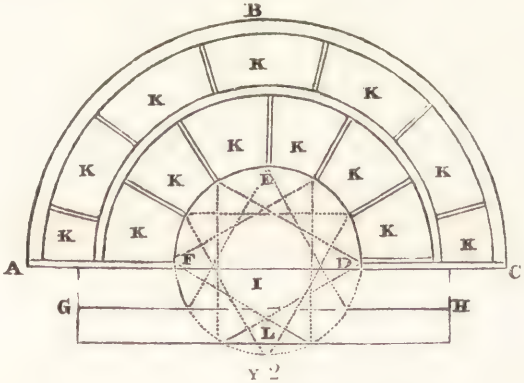
Vitruvius has not noticed this remarkable difference between the Greek theatres of Europe and Asia; but he gives the following precise distinction between the Greek and the Roman

* The reader will perceive from the plan of the theatre of Myra, that when the segment was very great, the ends of the cavea were directed not upon the centre of the orchestra, but upon a point nearer to the scene.

† The form of the Asiatic Greek theatre is exemplified in the annexed plans of Patara and Myra, and in that of Hierapolis, given in a succeeding note.

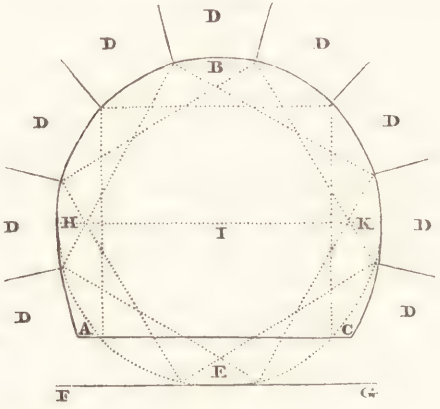
theatre: "To construct the Roman theatre,—having described a circle of the size intended for the lowest part of the theatre, inscribe in it four equilateral triangles, the angles of which will divide the circumference into 12 equal parts. Assume the side of one of the triangles for the position of the scene. A line drawn parallel to it through the diameter of the circle, will mark the separation of the pulpitum of the proscenium from the orchestra. The seven angles of the triangles in the semicircle of the orchestra determine the position of the scalæ or steps leading from the orchestra between the cunei into the first præcinctio. The scalæ leading from these to the second precinctio are in the middle of the intervals between the scalæ of the lower cunei. The five remaining angles of the triangles determine the divisions of the scene, the length of which ought to be double the diameter of the orchestra. The construction of the Greek theatre differs in some respects from that of the Roman. In the Greek three squares are inscribed in the circle of the lowest part of the theatre, dividing the circumference into 12 equal parts as before. Having assumed a side of one of the squares for the position of the λογεῖον or pulpitum of the proscenium, a line parallel to it, touching the circumference of the circle in the point most distant from the cavea, will determine the line of the scene. Draw a diameter of the circle parallel to the scene, and from each extremity of the diameter as a centre describe a curve from the opposite extremity until it intersects the line of the proscenium. These two curves, the semicircle and the proscenium, inclose the orchestra."

CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN THEATRE, ACCORDING TO VITRUVIUS.



A B C D E F A Cavea.
F D Pulpitum of the Proscenium.
G H Scene.
I Proscenium.
K K Cunei separated by Scalæ.
F E D F Orchestra.
L Postscenium.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE ORCHESTRA OF THE GREEK THEATRE, ACCORDING TO VITRUVIUS.



A C Pulpitum of the Proscenium.
A B C A Orchestra.
D D Cunei of the Cavea.
E Proscenium.
F G Scene.
H I K The three centres, from which the curve of the Orchestra is described.

The effect of these two modes of construction was, to give a more spacious cavea and a more spacious orchestra to the Greek theatre than to the Roman; a scene further removed from the middle of the cavea, and a narrower pulpitum to the proscenium. The intention of their difference is to be found in the different destinations of the two theatres. Among the Greeks the tragic and comic actors only performed on the scene: all other exhibitions took place in the orchestra; and

hence their theatrical artists were divided into Scenici and Thymelici—the latter term being derived from the thymele or altar of Bacchus; which in process of time was often used as synonymous with the whole orchestra. The Roman theatres, on the other hand, being chiefly intended for dramatic representations, it was desirable to bring the scene as near as possible to the centre of the cavea; the orchestra was used only for the moveable seats of privileged spectators, and the cavea seldom exceeded a semicircle. In Roman theatres the height of the pulpitum above the orchestra was only five feet, that the spectators in that part of the theatre might command a good view of the stage—as in our pit; in the Greek theatres, there being no spectators in the orchestra, it was ten or twelve feet high *.

As no science can less bear to be fettered by rules than architecture, it will not be surprising to find, as we increase our collection of ancient examples, that the speculations of Vitruvius seldom agree with the ancient monuments. His rules, in fact, are rather to be regarded as his own system, than that which was followed by the architects of Greece; whose genius is in nothing more remarkable than in the variety which pervaded their designs, according to the circumstances of each particular work; and in the singular felicity with which they harmonized the several parts of those designs.

The theatre of Patara may exemplify the rules given by Vitruvius for the position of the scene in Greek theatres, and for that of the scalæ, which determine the dimensions of the cunei: but, like all the other theatres in Asia Minor, it is an exception to his rule for constructing the curve of the orchestra or cavea; this curve being in all those theatres a segment of one and the same circle, instead of being formed from three centres.

And even in regard to the position of the scene, the theatre of Patara is subject to the remark, that between the lower seat of the cavea and the orchestra there is a præcinctio or διαζῶμα †, twelve feet wide, and four feet (not ten or twelve, as he prescribes in Greek theatres) in height above the level of the

* Vitruv. l. 5. c. 6, 7.

† The lower B in the plan and section of the theatre of Patara annexed.

orchestra; which diazoma must be included within the circle of the orchestra, in order to make the scene a tangent to that circle, as the rule of Vitruvius requires. The scene of the theatre of Myra is still more distant from the cavea.

It is impossible to determine, without further excavation, whether in any existing theatre the curve of the *orchestra* at the two ends next the proscenium was formed from three centres as Vitruvius has described; but in no instance that has yet been remarked are the extremities of the *cavea* constructed in this manner; they are either right lines or continuations of the same circle which forms the middle of the cavea.

The great theatre of Laodiceia* is also an exception to the rules of Vitruvius, or rather it exemplifies a mixture of his Greek and Roman theatre; for with a cavea, spacious like that of the Greek theatre, it has a Roman scene; as not only appears from the position of the scene *within* the curve of the orchestra, but likewise from the great niche in the centre of the scene, which is found also at Hierapolis, and is remarked at Nicopolis of Epirus, and in some other theatres of Roman construction †.

The advantage of the Asiatic over the European construction in Greek theatres, consisted only in the increase of capacity derived from the obliquity of the two ends of the cavea. As the spectators in the upper seats of the two extremities must have had a very imperfect view of the scene, the Asiatic construction may perhaps have been adopted to provide accommodation for the classes who cared less for the drama than for the dancing and dumb-show of the orchestra: and these classes may perhaps have been more numerous in the Asiatic than in the European cities of Greece.

In Asia Minor the lower part of the cavea was generally excavated in a hill, and the upper part was built of masonry raised upon arches; so that there was a direct access from the level of the ground at the back of the theatre into the middle diazoma, either at the two ends of the diazoma, or by arched vo-

* See Ionian Antiquities, vol. 2. pl. 49.

† Perhaps the theatre of Laodiceia was accommodated to the Roman mode of construction, when that city became the seat of the Roman government in Asia, and when the stadium was converted into an amphitheatre in the Roman fashion. See page 245.

mitories in the intermediate parts of the curve, under the upper division of the cavea. The same mode of construction occurred also in some of the theatres of European Greece; though in the more ancient theatres of that country it seems to have been the common practice to excavate all the middle part of the cavea and even the seats out of the rock. It seldom happened that theatres were constructed in plains, as it added so much to the labour and expense of them: instances, however, exist at Mantineia and Megalopolis.

As the scene and every part of the theatre relating to the spectacle stood on level ground at the lowest part of the building, it has invariably happened, in all the remaining theatres of Greece and Asia, that the parts belonging to the scene have been more or less buried in their own ruins, and in those of the cavea, which rises above them like a crumbling mountain. It is only by excavating, therefore, that we can arrive at an exact knowledge of the construction of that which is the most important part of the Greek theatre: but when circumstances admit of a complete examination of the theatres of Hierapolis, Patara, Laodiceia, Side, of some in Syria, which are in a remarkable state of preservation, and of two or three in European Greece, great light may be thrown on many interesting inquiries relating to the ancient drama.

I may here take the opportunity of observing, that there are no remains of Greek architecture more illustrative of the ancient state of society in Greece than the theatres. Comparing them with modern works of the same kind, we are astonished at the opulence required to collect the materials of those immense edifices, and afterwards to construct them; as well as at the effect of those customs and institutions, which, in filling the theatre, could inspire such a multitude of citizens with a single sentiment of curiosity, amusement, or political feeling. It may be said that the theatres of Greece are an existing proof of the populousness of the states of that country, much more convincing than the arguments of those who have endeavoured to confute the received opinion on this subject. No Grecian community was complete without a theatre. In the principal cities they were from 350 to 500 feet in diameter, and capable of containing from eight

or ten to twenty thousand spectators. I have already, in another work †, shown some reasons for believing that the Greeks were indebted for the invention of these buildings to the same city, to which they owed so large a share of their civilization. The Dionysiac theatre at Athens, in the form in which it was constructed at the time that Æschylus brought the drama to perfection, seems to have been the original model which, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout the Grecian states both of Europe and Asia.

I subjoin the diameters of the principal theatres in existence. They were all measured by Mr. Cockerell, except those marked D.; which are from the Missions of the Society of Dilettant. All those of Greece Proper I have myself measured; but the reader will undoubtedly be better satisfied in possessing the measurements of Mr. Cockerell.

THEATRES OF ASIA MINOR.

	Exterior Diameter.	Interior Diam.
Ephesus	660	240
Tralles *	540	150
Miletus (D)	472	224
Stratoniceia (D)	390	106
Side	390	120
Sardes *	396	162
Laodiceia (D)	364	136
Myra	360	120
Hierapolis	346	100
Patara	265	96
Teos * (Roman construction)	285	70
Pompeiopolis * (Ditto)	219	138
Limyra	195	—
Anemurium (Roman construction)	197	—
Selinus in Cilicia	114	—
Cnidus (D) about	400	—

† Topography of Athens, sect. 4.

* Those marked * are so much ruined, that it is difficult to procure an exact measurement.

THEATRES IN EUROPEAN GREECE.

	Exterior Diameter.	Interior Diam.
Sparta *	453	217
Near Joannina in Epirus	445	121
Argos *	435	217
Syracusa	342	114
Sicyon *	313	100
Mantineia *	227	—
Delus *	175	—
Epidaurus *	—	91
Nicopolis in Epirus (Roman constr.)	360	120

ODEIA †.

Nicopolis	139	93
Messene (of a singular form, being 112 feet long)		93

NOTE TO PAGE 229.

The reader will perhaps be curious to learn something more of the Latin inscription of Stratoniceia mentioned in the note to page 229; which, although it has been more than a century in England, and the greater part of that time in the British Museum, has never yet been published. It consists of a decree, very long and wordy, and written in a style strongly indicating a declining Latinity, followed by a list of articles of provision in most common use among the Romans, with prices annexed to each of them.

The decree makes some allusion to the damages sustained by recent incursions of the Barbarians into the Roman empire, and to its actual pacific state. It contains repeated reflections on the avarice of forestallers, who frustrate the bounty of nature; refers to the plenty which generally reigns in Asia; directs that those engaged in the traffic of provisions shall never exceed the subjoined prices in time of scarcity; and denounces capital punishment against such as shall infringe the decree which

* See note * in the preceding page.

† In Asia Minor there still exist Odeia at Laodiceia and Anemurium.

is promulgated to the whole world—called *our* world: the decree being as usual in the first person. There is no mention however made of the Emperor's name, but there are some expressions which seem to indicate that his reign had already been of some length. For the following reasons I am inclined to think it was a decree of the Emperor Theodosius. It appears by the tailor's work at the end of the catalogue, that silken garments were in very common use. Now it is known that, as late as the reign of Aurelian, they were still very rare and expensive; and that their use was confined almost entirely to women *. The only successors of Aurelian, whose length of reign and stability of power were suited to the language of the Inscription, are Diocletian, Constantine, and Theodosius. As Diocletian arrived at the empire only ten years after the death of Aurelian, it cannot be supposed that the use of silk had in his time become so common as the Inscription indicates. Constantine chiefly triumphed over his Roman rivals; but the victories of Theodosius over the Goths, who under Valens had overrun all Thrace, were the peculiar pride and characteristic of the reign of Theodosius. Ammianus, who wrote his History in that reign, observes that the use of silken garments, formerly confined to the nobility, had then become common among the lower classes †; a state of customs which appears to be in exact conformity with the prices of the tailors' work in silk in the Inscription, as well as with the classification of those articles of dress among the other garments used by the common people of that age—namely, the rough coat, or birrhus; the caracallis, or hooded cloke, which soon afterwards became the dress of the monks; the Gallic breeches, and the socks. The late date of the Inscription is shown by its barbarous style, and the use of several words not found in earlier Latin; but that which declares its age more strongly, perhaps, than any other peculiarity, is the very reduced value of the drachma or denarius,

* Vopisc. in Aurelian.

† Sericum ad usus antehac nobilium nunc etiam inferiorum sine ulla discretione. Ammian. l. 23. c. 6. Although silken garments were then so common, Ammianus still describes silk, as Virgil and Pliny had done three centuries earlier, as a sort of woolly substance (lanugo, canities frondium) which was *combed* from a tree in China.

in its exchange for the necessaries of life. It is true that the prices in the decree are given as a maximum; but the value of the denarius must have very greatly diminished from that which it bore in the two first centuries of the Roman Empire, when butchers' meat was about 2 denarii the pound, and middling wheat from 3 to 6 denarii the modius *,—before, under any circumstances contemplated by the Roman government, it could have been equivalent to an oyster, or the hundredth part of a lean goose. It appears from the coins of the early Byzantine Emperors, that great liberties were at that period taken with the weight of the denarius, and that it varied greatly between the time of Constantine and that of the final division of the Empire; but its diminution of value seems from this inscription to have been much greater than has hitherto been supposed †.

The Inscription cannot well be referred to a later time than that of Theodosius, as under his sons the Empire was again oppressed by the Barbarians; and after the final separation of the Empire, which took place in their reign, the use of the Latin language was gradually laid aside in the acts of government of the Eastern Empire.

It would be difficult to deduce any inference as to the date of the Inscription from the form of the letters; more especially as the Harleian MS. of Sherard, in which it is preserved, is only the copy of a copy. The characters seem to have been executed by a Greek engraver, and to have been left unfinished, so that the S resembles a Greek gamma, and the A a lambda. The following is a specimen of the characters, as nearly as they can be represented by printed types.

ETΓEMPERPRAECEPTORMETUΓIUΓTIΓΓI
MUΓOFFICIORUMINUENITUREΓΓEMODE
RATORPLACETΓIQUIΓCONTRAFORMAM
ΓTATUTIHIUIUΓCONUIXUΓFUERITAUDE
NTIACAPITALIPERICULOΓUBICIETUR

Et semper præceptor metus justissimus invenitur esse moderator. Placet si quis contra formam statuti hujus convictus fuerit audentia capitali periculo subjicietur.

* See Arbuthnot on Ancient Weights, &c.

† See Romé de l'Isle, Metrologie, &c.

The following is the list of provisions with their prices. It is very possible that Mr. W. Bankes may have procured a more complete copy of the Inscription, and a longer list.

It should be observed that the denomination of coin, here expressed by an asterisk, is in the original denoted by the usual sign of the denarius, namely X with a transverse line, or an asterisk with six points. The sign of quantity here expressed by *f*, which nearly resembles the note in the original, is probably *S* for sextarius, with a transverse line; but it may be worthy of remark, that this note is not commonly found in ancient manuscripts like the asterisk for drachma or denarius.

Conditi ital *f* unum ⁎ viginti quatuor ([1])
Apsinthi ital *f* unum ⁎ viginti
Rhosati ([2]) ital *f* unum ⁎ viginti
Item olei
Olei floris ([3]) ital *f* unum ⁎ viginti quatuor
Olei sequentis ital *f* unum ⁎ viginti qua . . . .
Olei cibari ([4]) ital *f* unum ⁎ duodecim
Olei raphanini ([5]) ital *f* unum ⁎ octo
Aceti ital *f* unum ⁎ sex
Liquaminis ([6]) primi ital *f* unum ⁎ se . . . . . .
Liquaminis secundi ital *f* unum ⁎ decem
Salis F M̃ ([7]) unum ⁎ centum

[1] i.e. one Italian sextarius cost 24 denarii. The sextarius or sextarium was in general use among the Greeks under the Roman Government. The Greek sextarius contained 15 ounces of oil or 16 of water. Galen de Comp. Med. l. 1.—L. Pætus ap. Græv. Thes. vol. 11.

[2] Conditum, wine mixed with various ingredients; in the Apsinthium the prevailing ingredient was wormwood, and in the Rhosatum roses. Apicius, l. 1, has given us the receipt for making these three mixtures.

[3] (Oleum) quod post molam primum est, flos. Plin. H. N. l. 15. c. 6. ed. Harduin.

[4] Cibarium, the most ordinary kind of oil used by soldiers, &c., and made from the refuse of the olives. Columella, l. 12. c. 50.

[5] Raphaninum, oil of coleseed, or rape. Plin. H. N. l. 23. c. 49. Dioscor. l. 1. c. 41.

[6] Liquamen: this favourite condiment, also called Garum, as having been originally obtained from the fish garum, was made by throwing salt on the entrails of fish, exposing the mixture to the sun for some time, and then separating the liquid part. This liquor was the liquamen: the residue was called Alec. Geopon. l. 20. c. ult. Plin. H. N. l. 31. c. 43. There were other kinds of liquamen less commonly used, which are described by Apicius.

[7] M̃ was the usual note for modius or modium, the dry measure in most

Salis conditi [8] italicum *f* unum * o .....

Mellis optimi ital *f* unum * cu .....
Mellis secundi ital *f* unum * vig ....
Mellis fœnicini [9] ital *f* unum * octo

Item carnis
Carnis porcinæ ital po [10] unum * duodecim
Carnis bubulæ ital po unum * octo
Carnis caprinæ sive vervecinæ ital po unum * .....
Vulvæ [11] ital po unum * viginti quattuor
Suminis [12] ital po unum * viginti
Ficati [13] optimi ital po unum * sedecim
Laridi optimi ital po unum * sedecim
Pernæ optimæ petasonis sive Menapicæ vel
Ceritanæ [14] ital po unum * viginti

common use in the time of the Roman Empire, from whence the use of the word passed into Italy and France and became the moggio and muid. The sextarius in like manner became the setier. Here appear to be two modia, that for salt preceded by F, and that for grain preceded by K. I am unable to discover the meaning of this distinction.

[8] Sal conditum, salt mixed with drugs of several kinds and used for medicinal purposes. Apic. l. 1. c. 27.

[9] Perhaps mel phœnicinum, the debs or date honey of Egypt and Arabia.

[10] One Italian pound.

[11] Vulva virginis porcellæ. Apicius calls it vulva sterilis, to distinguish it from the sumen. For the mode of dressing these two famous dainties see Apicius l. 7.

[12] Sumen—abdomen suis cum ubere. Optimum uno die post partum. Plin. H. N. l. 11. c. 84.

[13] Ficatum, in Greek *συκωτὸν*, hog's liver enlarged by a particular mode of fatting. The word was originally derived from the fatting of geese with figs for a similar purpose—ficis pastum jecur anseris albi. Hor. It was said to have been the invention of the first Apicius, who lived in the time of the Republic, and whose name was assumed by some other subsequent professors of the culinary art. Apicius Cœlius, whose work is extant, appears, from the names and descriptions which he gives to some of the dishes or sauces, to have lived not long after the reign of Elagabulus. See the preface to the edition of Apicius, by Dr. Lister, physician to Queen Anne. From ficatum, *συκωτὸν*, are derived the Italian and modern Greek words fegato, *συκώτι*, used for liver in general.

[14] Fumosæ cum pede pernæ, Hor. Petaso and perna appear, from Athenæus, to have been synonymous, *πιτασῶνος, ἣν πέρναν καλοῦσι* (l. 14. c. 21.). Perna was perhaps more particularly the ham, and petaso every part of the hog similarly cured. Laridum or lardum was the fat part of the

Marsicæ ([15]) ital po unum ✳ viginti
Adipis recentis ital po unum ✳ duodecim
Axungiæ ital po unum ✳ duodecim
Ungellæ—quattuor et Aqualiculum ([16]) pretio quo distrahitur
Isicium ([17]) porcinum unciæ unius ✳ duod ....
Isicia bubula ital po unum ✳ decem
Lucanicarum ([18]) ital po unum ✳ sedecem
Lucanicarum bubularum ital po uno ✳ dec..
Fasionus pastus ✳ ducentis quinquaginta
Fasionus agrestis ✳ centum viginti quinque
Fasia pasta po ... ✳ ducentis
Fasiana non pasta ✳ centum
Anser pastus ✳ ducentis
Anser non pastus ✳ centum

Pullo .... ✳ sexaginta
Perdix .... ✳ triginta
Turtur .. ✳ duodecim
Turtur .. ✳ duodecim
Turdorum .. ✳ sexaginta
Palumb .... ✳ viginti
Columb .... ✳ viginti quattuor
Attagen ✳ viginti

bacon. Menapica was the ham of Westphalia, Ceritana that of the Cerdagne in the Pyrenees, the excellence of which is attested by Strabo (p. 162).

[15] Marsicæ, sc. pernæ. This being of the same price as the two former was probably a foreign ham also; not from the Marsi of Italy, but from the Marsi near the mouth of the Rhine.

[16] Ungellæ—ungulæ suum et pedes, Apic. l. 4. c. 7. Aqualiculum—venter porcinus; for the mode of dressing it see Apicius, l. 7. c. 7.

[17] Apicius has described the mode of making isicia as well of pork as of birds, shell-fish, &c. They consisted of the meat minced with a variety of condiments, and were made either into tessellæ, square cakes, or wrapt in a bay leaf; and sometimes they were omentata or inclosed in a membrane like our sausages. It appears from this inscription that their common size was about an ounce in weight. The Turkish dolma inclosed in a vine leaf seems to be a lineal descendant of the isicium. From salsum isicium is derived the Italian salsiccio, and thence saucisse and sausage.

[18] Lucanicæ, sausages of a particular kind, originally from Lucania, which was famous for its pork. Apicius (l. 2. c. 4.) has described the mode of making the Lucanicæ.

Anas * cuadraginta
Lepus * centum quinquaginta
Cunic(ulus) * quadraginta
.. pe .. viginti
..... quadraginta
..... sedecim
Femina .....
Coturnices n * numero ducentis
Sturni decem * viginti
Aprunæ ital po * sedicim
Cervinæ ital po * duodecim
Dorcis sive capræ vel dammæ ital po duodecim
Porcinæ lactantis * sedicim
Agnus M po .... * duodecim
Hædus ([19]) M po l * duodecim
Sevi ital po l * sex
Butyri ital po l * sedecim

Item pisces

Piscis aspratilis ([20]) marini ital po l * viginti quattuor
Piscis secundi ital po l * sedecim
Piscis fluvialis opt. po l * duodecim
Piscis secundi fluvialis ital po l * octo
Piscisalsi ital po l * sex
Ostriæ no centum * centum
Echini no centum * quinquaginta
Echini recentis purgati ital *f* unum * quadraginta
Echini salsi ital *f* unum * centum
Sphondili ([21]) marini no centum * quinquaginta
Sagenici ([22]) ital po l * duodecim

[19] The Roman mode of dressing all the birds, game, &c. in the preceding list may be seen in Apicius.

[20] Pisces aspratiles, quales sunt merulæ, scaurus .... De piscibus generaliter quales invenias albos carnes habentes, quod genus sunt aspratiles .... omnem aspratilem piscem, ut sunt lupi, corvi. Plin. Valerian. de Re Med. l. 5. Fish caught in deep water and near rocky shores. The word aspratilis is not found in authors of a better time, who use saxatilis with the same meaning. See Pliny, Columella.

[21] Sphondili. Apic. l. 9. c. 14.

[22] Sagenici, from σαγήνη, whence the English word sein: in Latin it was called everriculum, and served to catch the small fish eaten only by the

Sardæ sive Sardinæ po l * sedecim

Item Cardus majores no quinque * decem

Sequentes no decem .....

Intibus optima no decem .....

Sequentis no decem .....

Malvæ maximæ no VI .....

Malvæ sequentis decem .....

Lactucæ optimæ no V .....

Sequentes no decem * quattuor

Coliculi optimi no V * quattuor

Sequentes no X * quattuor

Cumæ ([23]) optimæ fascem l * quinque

Porri maximi no X * octo

Sequentes no viginti .....

Betæ maximæ no V.....

Sequentes no X .....

Radices maximæ .....

Sequentes .....

Rapæ maximæ no X .....

Sequentes no X .....

Ceparum siccarum .....

Cepæ verdes ([24]) .....

Sequentes .....

Capparis .....

Sisinariorum ([25]) ital.....

Cucurbitæ .....

Sequentes .....

Melopepones .....

Sequentes .....

Pepones .....

Fasiolorum .....

Asparagi Hortulani .....

common people, or given as food to the choice fish which some of the rich Romans kept in piscinæ. See Varro de Re Rust. l. 3. c. 17.

[23] Cimæ. Apic.—Cymæ. Plin. Columel. The small tender shoots of the cabbage. See Plin. H. N. l. 19. c. 41.

[24] Here and in two other instances below, we find the beginning of the change of viridis into the Italian verde.

[25] Sisinarii, perhaps the same as Cinaræ, artichokes.

Asparagi Agrestes .....
Rusci [26] .....
Ciceris .....
Fabæ virdes .....
Fascioli virdes .....

.... etiam
licitum sit .....
Frumenti K M̊ .....
Hordei K M̊ unum * .....
Centenum sive sicale [27] K M̊ unum .....
Milipisti K M̊ unum * centum
Militegri [28] K M̊ * quinquaginta
Panicii [29] K M̊ * quinquaginta
Speltæ .... K M̊ * centum
Scandulæ [30] sive speltæ K M̊ * triginta
Fabæ fressæ..... * centum
Fabæ non fressæ [31] * sexanta....
Lenticlæ ..... * centum
Herviliæ .... * octocenta
Pisæ fractæ ..... * centum
Pisæ non fractæ .... * sexacinta
Ciceris .... * centum
Hervi .... * centum
Avenæ .... * triginta

[26] Ruscus, in English, butcher's broom; it puts forth many tender shoots in the spring, which were eaten like asparagus. Dioscor. l. 4. c. 146.

[27] Sicale, in French seigle, rye. The name of this grain, written secale, by Pliny, is here in the state of transition to the σίκαλις, sigalis, sigalum, &c. of the middle ages. The synonymous *Centenum* I have not found in any author; it seems to have been derived from the prolific nature of the grain, which was supposed to yield a hundred-fold. Secale.....nascitur qualicunque solo cum centesimo grano. Plin. H. N. l. 18. c. 40.

[28] Milii pisti and milii integri formed into single words like Piscisalsi above.

[29] The grain still called panico in Italy.

[30] Scandula. Vegetius, l. 2. c. 23.

[31] Fabæ fressæ and fabæ non fressæ are expressions of low Latinity for fabæ fractæ and fabæ solidæ, as panicii and lenticlæ are terms of the same period for panici and lenticulæ.

Fœnigræci .... * centum

..... scripturæ versuum no centum .....

Tabellanioni in scriptura livelli bel tabulæ versibus no centum .....

Bracario pro excisura et urnatura

Pro birro qualitatis primæ * se .....

Pro birro qualitatis secundæ * quadra .....

Pro Caracalli majori * viginti

Pro Caracalli minori * viginti

Pro Vracibus * viginti

Pro Udonibus * quattuor

Sarcinatori in beste soubtili replicatoriæ * sex .....

Eidem aperturæ cum suvsutura sit oloseric æ * quinquaginta

Eidem aperturæ cum subsutura subsericæ ([32]) * triginta

Subsuturæ in beste grossiori * quattuor

NOTE TO PAGE 230.

Sherard copied the following curious inscription in two places at Mylasa :—

ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΟΣΕΚΑΤΟΜΝΩΤΟΜΒΩΜΟΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

Mausolus, who here erects an altar to Hecatomnus, was his eldest son, and his successor in the kingdom of Caria. Mausolus married his eldest sister Artemisia, who on his death built the celebrated sepulchre at Halicarnassus called Mausoleum. According to Pliny, Mausolus died in the second year of the 106th Olympiad, or before Christ 355.† He was succeeded in the regal authority by Artemisia, according to a custom which Arrian observes to have been not uncommon in Asia ‡. Artemisia died before the monument of Mausolus was finished, and was succeeded by Hydrieus the second son of Hecatomnus, and he by his widow and sister Ada. Ada was expelled from Halicarnassus by her brother Pixodarus, the third

[32] Oloserica, a cloth entirely silken—subserica, that in which the warp only was of silk. For the several articles of dress in this list see the writers de Re Vestiaria in the 6th volume of Grævii Thesaurus.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 4, 6.

‡ In the neighbouring province of Lycia, genealogy was reckoned by the female side in preference to the male. Herodot. l. 1. c. 173.

son of Hecatomnus; who submitted to the Persians, and was succeeded by the Persian satrap Orontobates, who had married his daughter. It was from this Persian that Alexander took Halicarnassus, after an obstinate defence, in the year B.C. 334, when he restored the kingdom of Caria to Ada; who, on being expelled from the sovereignty by her brother, had remained in possession of Alinda †.

The reduplication of the sigma in Μαύσσωλος is found also in other proper names of this period of time. The conversion of N before B into M, was in conformity with a pronunciation which has continued to the present day. Other conversions of a similar kind are often found in inscriptions: see some examples in the Inscriptiones Antiquæ of Chishull and of Chandler.

NOTE TO PAGE 248.

The following are the two inscriptions mentioned in the text as containing the name of Tralles, and as having been copied by Sherard at Ghiuzél Hissár.

I.

.....ΣΤΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΡΟΥ-
-ΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ
ΝΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΣΙ
ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝ ΤΙΒ
ΚΛ ΠΑΝΥΧΟΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΝ
ΚΟΙΒΙΛΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑΝ-
-ΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΗΝ ΣΤΡΑ-
-ΤΗΓΙΑΝ ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΕΥΣΑΝ-
-ΤΑ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΤΑΜΙΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ
ΕΚΔΑΝΕΙΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΟΥΡΑΤΟ-
-ΡΕΙΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΣΕΙΤΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΑΙΓΥ-
-ΠΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΡΓΟΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ
ΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΝΤΑ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΧΒΦΚΖ ΝΕ-
-ΟΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑΝ-
-ΤΑ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΦΙΛΟ-

† Strabo, p. 656. Arrian, l. 1. c. 23.

-ΤΕΙΜΩΣ ΑΝΑΘΕΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ
ΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΟΨΑΡΙΟ-
-ΠΩΛΕΙ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΝΑΣ ΤΡΑΠΕ-
-ΖΑ . ΙΒ Σ . . ΤΑΙΣ ΒΑΣΕΣΙΝ Β
Π . ΤΙΤΙΟΣ ΜΗΟΥΒΙΑΝΟΣ Κ.
-ΛΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ

II.

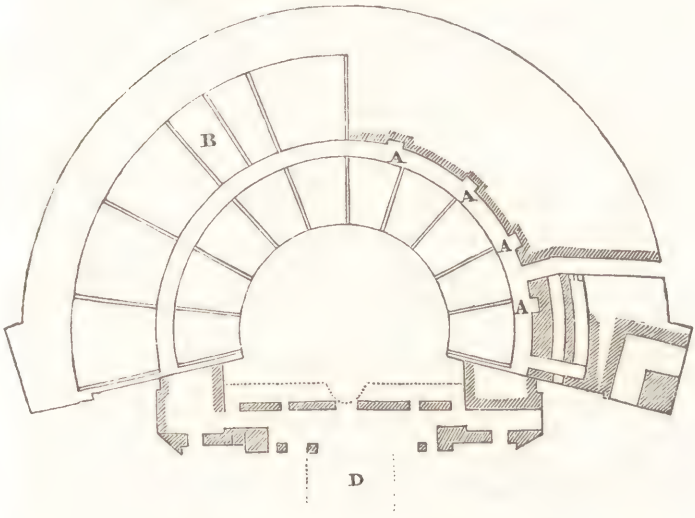
ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΝΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΗ
ΤΟΝ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΝ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ
ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΥ
ΣΕΙΤΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΗ-
-ΣΑΝΤΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΑ
ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ
ΔΙ ΟΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣ
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ
ΚΑΙ ΘΕΝΤΑ ΕΛΑΙΟΥ
ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ
Η ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ
ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΟΔΩΝ
ΠΡΟΝΟΗΣΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑ-
-ΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ Μ ΑΥΡ ΛΗΤΟΙΔΟΥ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ
Μ ΑΥΡ ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣ.

NOTE TO PAGE 253.

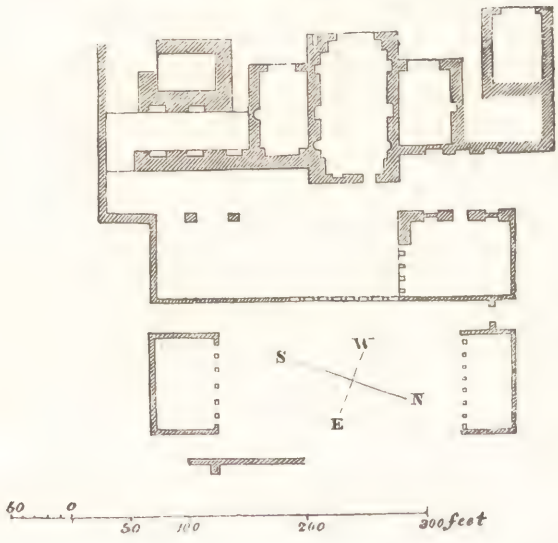
In the annexed plate are plans, on a small scale, of the theatre and palæstra of Hierapolis, from the drawings of Mr. Cockerell. I know of only two other palæstræ, or gymnasia†, in a state of preservation sufficient to give any useful information on the subject of these buildings, whose spacious chambers and massy walls show the importance which was attached to them by the ancients.

† At Alexandria Troas and Ephesus. For their plans see Antiquities of Ionia, part 2, pl. 40, 54.

THE THEATRE OF HIERAPOLIS.



THE PALÆSTRA OF HIERAPOLIS.



Near the mineral sources which rise in the centre of the site of Hierapolis, Mr. Cockerell observed the Plutonium or mephitic cavern, which eluded the search of Pococke and of Chandler. Dio accurately remarks that it was situated below the theatre, Strabo says that it was fatal to oxen placed within its influence, and both he and Dio assert that they exposed birds to it, which fell dead immediately. Mr. C. found several small birds lying dead near the grotto; and though he tried its effects on a fowl for a whole day without any result, he was assured by the inhabitants that it was sometimes fatal to their sheep and oxen, but that it was not always equally dangerous. The ancient authors who have mentioned this Plutonium are Strabo (p. 629.) Pliny (l. 2. c. 95.) Dion Cassius (l. 68. c. 27.) Apuleius (de Mundo), Ammianus (l. 23. c. 6.), and Damascius (ap. Photii Bibl. p. 1054.)

NOTE TO PAGE 259.

Pliny (l. 36. c. 21.) says, the temple of Ephesus was built "in solo palustri ne terræ motus sentiret aut hiatus timeret."

NOTE TO PAGE 265.

Mr. Cockerell has been so kind as to furnish me with the following note on the antiquities of Sardes:—

"Sardes was magnificently situated on one of the roots of Mount Tmolus, which commands an extensive view to the northward over the valley of the Hermus, and the country beyond it. To the south of the city, in a small plain watered by the Pactolus, stood the temple, built of coarse whitish marble. The western front was on the bank of the river; the eastern under the impending heights of the Acropolis.

"Two columns of the exterior order of the east front, and one column of the portico of the pronaus, are still standing, with their capitals: the two former still support the stone of the architrave, which stretched from the centre of one column to the centre of the other. The columns are buried nearly to half their height in the soil, which has accumulated in the valley since their erection; chiefly, it is probable, by the destruction of the hill of the Acropolis, which is continually crumbling, and which presents a most rugged and fantastic

outline. On the edges of its summit the remains of the ancient walls are still observable in many places. I was told that, four years ago, three other columns of the temple were still standing, and that they were thrown down by the Turks, for the sake of the gold which they expected to find in the joints †.

"Besides the three standing columns which I have mentioned, there are truncated portions of four others belonging to the eastern front, and of one belonging to the portico of the pronaus; together with a part of the wall of the cella. When it is considered that these remains are 25 feet above the pavement, it cannot be doubted that an excavation would expose the greater part of the building: even now, however, there is sufficient above the soil to give an idea of the dimensions of the temple, and to show that it was one of the most magnificent in Greece; for though in extent it was inferior to the temples of Juno at Samus, and of Apollo at Branchidæ, the proportions of the order are at least equal to those of the former, and exceed those of the latter. The following plan and elevation will illustrate what I have just stated: the shading expresses those parts which still remain in their places above the soil.

"The dimensions are as follow:—

	F.	In.
Diameter of the exterior columns, at about 35 feet below the capital	6	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Diameter of the exterior columns under the capital	5	$6\frac{1}{4}$
Diameter of interior columns under the capital . .	6	$0\frac{3}{4}$
Diameter of the same under the caps	5	3

"The height of the entire column has been assumed from the proportions of those at Branchidæ, Miletus, &c. The stone A must have weighed 25 tons, and that above the centre intercolumnium was still larger.

"The capital, appeared to me to surpass any specimen of the Ionic I had seen in perfection of design and execution. I suppose the temple to have been an octastyle dipterus, with seventeen columns in the flanks; though in regard to the number in the flanks, I am more guided by the proportion of the other

† Peyssonel, in a rude drawing of the temple made in the year 1750, represents six columns and a part of the cell standing. Three of the columns were surmounted by an entablature.

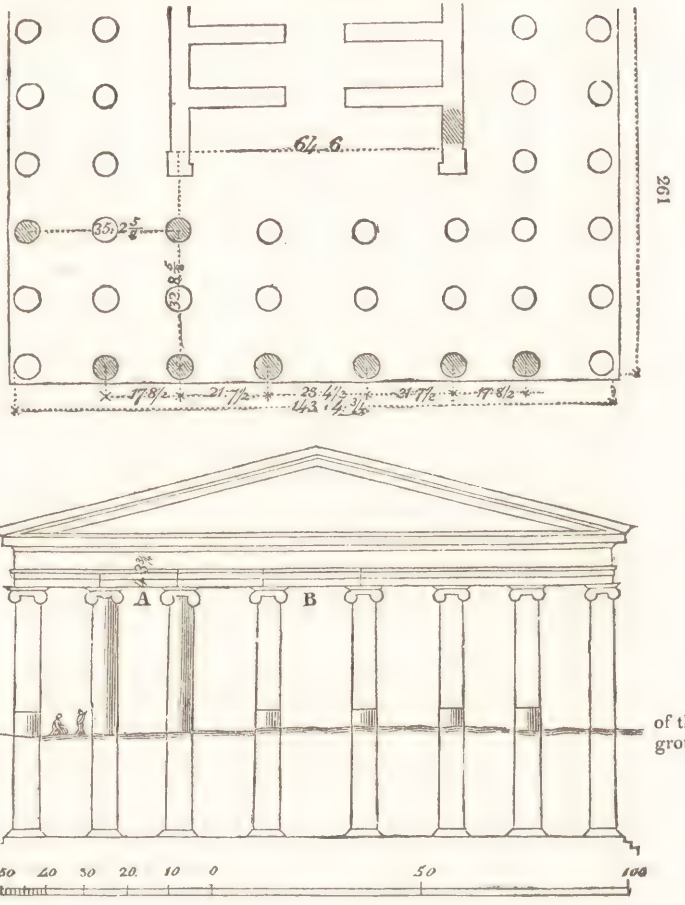
dipteral temples of the Ionic order than by any proof that can be derived from the ruins in their present state. The gradual diminution of the intercolumnia from the centre of the front to the angles, is remarkable, and, I believe, without any other example. The larger intercolumnium in the centre is indeed found in the temple of Diana at Magnesia; and is recommended by Vitruvius lib. iii. c. 11: the contraction of the intercolumnia, in the flanks is exemplified in the temple of Samus. The smaller diameter of the interior columns is not uncommon in Greek temples: the capitals resembled those of the exterior order. The flutings are not continued in any of the columns below the capital; which I conceive to be a proof that this temple, like that of Apollo Didymeus, was never finished.

"The great height of the architrave, the peculiar style of the design and workmanship, and the difference of intercolumnia in the faces and in the flanks of the peristyle, I cannot but regard as tokens of high antiquity; and perhaps we may consider as no less so the vast size of the stones employed in the architrave; and the circumstance of their being single stones, whereas in the temple of Didyma and in the Parthenon there were two blocks in the same situation†. In subsequent times the durability ensured by this massive mode of construction was sacrificed for appearances, and for a more easy result.

"The merit of the very ancient architects in overcoming such a difficulty, and the great expense incurred by it, may be illustrated by the practical observation, that the price of the cubic foot of stone is doubled and trebled, according to size, as well in

† The reasons which Mr. Cockerell here gives for believing that the temple of Sardes was a building of very high antiquity, render it probable that it was the work of one of the kings, or perhaps of several successive kings, of the Lydian dynasty; which began under Gyges in 715, B. C., and ended with the capture of Sardes by Cyrus in 545. It was undoubtedly in the same period, when the power and opulence of Samus were at their height, that the magnificent temple of Juno in that island was constructed; and it was probably about the same time that the inhabitants of the little island of Ægina, which was then sufficiently powerful to rival Samus and even Athens, constructed the temple of Jupiter Panellenius. The temple of Sardes was burnt by the Ionians in the year 503. It may have been repaired, but it is not probable that it was entirely rebuilt after that misfortune.

THE TEMPLE OF CYBEBE AT SARDES.



esent face

of the ground.

the quarrying as in the carriage and setting. Modern architecture has indeed succeeded in producing buildings of immense bulk, but they cannot be kept together without continued repair; and the triumph is little more than that of balancing a skeleton on its legs. In some late works only, such as the recent artificial docks and basins, have we imitated the solidity of the ancients."

On the north side of the Acropolis of Sardes, overlooking the valley of the Hermus, is a theatre, attached to a stadium: in the manner of which we find several examples in Asia Minor. The stadium is near 1000 feet in length, the theatre near 400 in diameter."

The subjoined plate is intended to show the relative proportions of the principal temples of Asia Minor, as well with each other as with the four most celebrated temples of European Greece. All these plans, except the first, are formed from observations made by skilful architects, on the existing ruins of the buildings.

1. *Temple of Diana at Ephesus.*—Vitruvius mentions this building as an example of the class of temples which he calls dipterus; and one of the characters of which, according to him, is, that of having eight columns in front. His words, however, are ambiguous, and I am disposed to think that he alludes, not to the temple which existed in his time, but to the original work of Chersiphron of Cnossus, and his son Metagenes, who were cotemporaries of Theodorus and Rhœcus, the architects of the Heræum of Samus; and whose building, after having been enlarged by another architect, was destroyed by fire in the year B.C. 356: for it was not until then that the edifice was begun, which, after 220 years employed in its construction, was in perfection in the time of the Roman empire; when it was noticed by Strabo, Pliny, and Vitruvius †. In any case, as the expression of Vitruvius forms part of his absurd classification of temples ‡, it deserves not much weight in contradiction to the

† Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 79. l. 36. c. 21, *56.* Strabo, p. 640. Vitruv. præf. in l. 7.

‡ "Dipteros autem octastylos et pronao et postico, sed circa ædem duplices habet ordines columnarum sicut est ædes Quirini Dorica, et Ephesiæ Dianæ Ionica a Chersiphrone constituta." Vitr. l. 3. c. 2.

Such is his definition of the dipterus which he confines to octastyle temples; although we find that all the *decastyle* temples in existence are dipteral, that is to say, that they have a double range of columns round the cell. In like manner he defines the peripteri as having six columns in front, though all temples with a greater number of columns in front are in fact peripteral, or having a cell surrounded with columns. Thus also he defines the hypæthri as temples having ten columns in front, though we

description of the building by Pliny, whose principal data will be found (on the supposition that the temple was decastyle) to agree in a remarkable manner with each other, as well as with some other great examples of the Ionic order. Pliny relates that the temple was 220 feet in front, and 425 long, and that the diameter of the columns was one eighth of the height, which was 60 feet. The columns, therefore, were $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter; and the intercolumnia of the front, supposing them to have been all equal, were 16 feet, or only 9 inches less than the eustyle proportion of Vitruvius; which is $2\frac{1}{4}$ times the diameter of the column.

It has been thought that the side of this temple, having been less than double the front, the number of columns on the sides must also have been less than double the number in the fronts. But this is by no means a necessary consequence; on the contrary, we find that in the temples of Samus and Branchidæ, both of which had one column more in the flank than in the front, the side is less than double the front; and that the breadth exceeds half the length, even in a greater proportion than it did, according to the numbers of Pliny, in the temple of Ephesus. There is no reason, therefore, why the Ephesian temple, like the temples of the same order, which most nearly approached it in magnitude, namely those of Samus and Branchidæ, should not have had 21 columns in the sides. In regard to its total number of columns, which in our copies of Pliny is 127, there is evidently some error, as the number could not have been uneven. It is very possible that the early copiers of Pliny made the common oversight of omitting an unit, writing cxxvii. instead of cxxviii.; for such would have been the number if we suppose that there was a triple row of columns before the vestibule of the cell in front, as in the temples of Samus and Sardes, and also at the opposite end, as in the Olympium of Athens; together with four columns between the Antæ at either end of the cella, as the general construction of Greek temples renders highly probable.

know that the Parthenon and the temple of Delphi, neither of which had so many columns, were hypæthral, or with a part of the cella open to the sky. But, in truth, Vitruvius himself often forgets his own definitions, and uses the Greek terms just mentioned according to their real meaning.

As it cannot be certain whether Pliny refers to the Greek or Roman foot in this example, I have drawn the little plan in the plate by the same scale of English feet used for the other figures. The English foot being somewhat greater than the Roman, and smaller than the Greek, the error must be very trifling, whether Pliny used the Greek or Roman.

2. *Temple of Juno at Samus.*—Herodotus has prepared us for the magnificence of this building. He names it, together with the temple of Ephesus, as the most admirable of all the works of the Grecians; and in another place he calls it the largest temple of which he has any knowledge †. Hence it appears that the Heræum of Samus was larger than the Artemisium of Ephesus as the latter existed in the time of Herodotus.

Although only one column of the Heræum deprived of its capital is now standing, its plan was ascertained by Mr. Bedford, one of the architects who accompanied Sir William Gell in the second Asiatic Mission of the Dilettanti. The length was 346 feet, the breadth 189. It was a decastylus dipterus, had 10 columns in front, 21 on the sides, a triple row in the pronaus, and a double row of four columns between the antæ at the entrance of the cella in front. The columns were about 7 feet in diameter at the bottom of the shaft, and about 60 feet high. The intercolumniation in the two fronts was 14 feet, in the flank only $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and in the flank of the pronaus something still less. There was no appearance of fluting in the columns. The material was the white and blueish-gray marble of the island.

3. *Temple of Apollo Didymeus at Branchidæ in the Milesia.*—Of this building there remain two columns with the architrave, still standing: the remainder is an immense mass of ruin. The proportions of the order are more slender than those of Samus and Sardes, their height being 63 feet, with a diameter of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the base of the shaft. The architrave is lower, and the building much less ancient than those two temples. It was a decastylus dipterus, with 21 columns in the flanks, and 4 between the antæ of the pronaus: in all 112. The fluting

† Meaning the largest Greek temple: for in the other passage just alluded to, he names it for the purpose of adding that it was smaller than the labyrinth of Mœris in Egypt. Herod. l. 2. c. 148. l. 3. c. 60.

of the columns is finished only in the exterior order; in the interior it exists only under the capital †. The material of the temple is white marble—in some parts blueish.

4. *Temple of Cybebe at Sardes.*—Of this the foregoing note of Mr. Cockerell, the only person who has measured it with care, has furnished the reader with all that is known. The plan is constructed on the supposition, not yet sufficiently proved, that it had 17 columns on the sides, and not more than a double row at the back of the cella. Of the other particulars Mr. C.'s measurements leave no doubt.

5. *The Temple of Artemis Leucophryene*—which is now a mere heap of ruins, among other remains of the city of Magnesia on the Mæander. Its material is white marble, not of the purest kind. The length is 198 feet, the breadth 106; measured, as usual, on the upper step of the stylobate. There were 8 columns in the fronts and 15 in the sides, measuring 4 feet 8 inches in diameter at the bottom of the shaft. The number of columns was only 56; this temple being the example which Vitruvius has given of the pseudodipterus, a mode of construction by which 38 columns were saved, and a larger space was left for the reception of the people in the peristyle. The central intercolumnium of the temple of Magnesia is found to be three-fourths of a diameter greater than the other intercolumnia; and we are informed by Vitruvius that such was exactly the proportion of the central intercolumnium to the others in the eustylus, a disposition so called as being the most harmonious mode of proportioning the diameters to the intercolumnia. The other intercolumnia, however, of the temple of Magnesia do not bear so large a proportion to the diameter of the column, as the eustylus required.—Vitruvius informs us that Hermogenes of Alabanda, the architect of the temple of Mag-

† The fluting under the capital forming part of the same block as the capital, was executed, together with it, before the column was erected—the remainder of the fluting was the last operation after the columns were erected; and hence it happens that we so often find the columns of Greek buildings fluted only under the capitals. The time and labour required for the fluting finished with that perfection which the Greeks required, were so great that it was often deferred until political circumstances no longer admitted of its execution; the temple meantime being complete, with the exception of this ornament. Almost all the great edifices of antiquity attest that such immense undertakings are seldom ever finished.

nesia, was the inventor both of the Pseudodipterus and Eustylus; but in regard to the former at least, his merit seems not to have been very great, as we now find from the observations of two architects, Messrs. Harris and Angell, who have lately resided six months at Selinus in Sicily for the purpose of examining the magnificent ruins at that place, which are much more ancient than the time of Hermogenes, that the great temple of Jupiter as well as one of the hexastyles was constructed on the principles of the pseudodipterus.

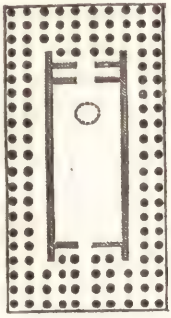
6. *The Temple of Bacchus at Teos.*—The ruins of this building afford only the diameter of the column (about 3 feet 8 inches at the base), with a few less important details of the other parts of the construction. But we have some means of judging of the dimensions of the temple, from its being the example of the eustylus given by Vitruvius, who informs us also that it was a hexastylus monopterus †. The columns therefore being 3.8 in diameter, and the intercolumniation of the eustylus being 3 diameters in the centre with $2\frac{1}{4}$ in the four other intercolumnia, the total length of the front must have been about 64 feet on the upper step, which is very nearly the breadth of another Ionic hexastyle, namely the temple of Minerva at Priene. If we suppose the number of columns in the sides at Teos to have been the same as at Priene, namely 11, these two temples must have been nearly equal in length as well as in breadth. It seems highly probable that such was the number of columns in the sides at Teos, because Vitruvius, who chiefly extracted his theoretical system from the commentaries of the great architects of the Asiatic temples, prescribes the number of columns in the hexastyle to be not more than 11. One of those Asiatic writers, we know, was Hermogenes the architect of the temple at Teos; and he also was the inventor of the eustylus or beautiful proportion, of which this temple was an example ‡.

† Vitruv. l. 3. c. 3. l. 7. præf. Jocundus, in his edition of Vitruvius, reads octastylus; but all the best manuscripts have hexastylon or exastylon. See Schneider's Note.

‡ It is probable that the observations of Vitruvius on the eustylus and pseudodipterus contain merely the ideas and names of Hermogenes, made into a system; and that no other examples of these two classes were known to Vitruvius than the temples of Teos and Magnesia. Selinus de-

PLANS OF TEMPLES AT

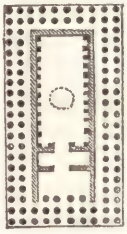
1. Ephesus, Ionic. 425 feet long, 220 broad.



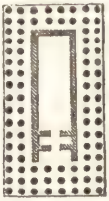
2. Samus, Ionic. 346 × 189.



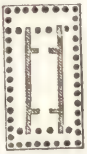
3. Branchidæ, Ionic. 304 × 65.



4. Sardes, Ionic. 251 × 144.



5. Magnesia, Ionic. 198 × 105.



6. Teos, Ionic. 122 × 64.



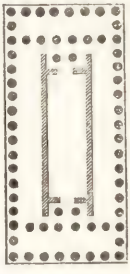
7. Priene, Ionic. 122 × 63.



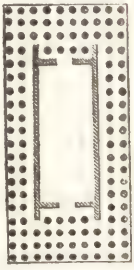
1. Agrigentum, Doric. 358 × 172.



2. Selinus, Doric. 358 × 164.



3. Athens (Olympium), Corinthian. 354 × 171.



4. Athens (Parthenon), Doric.



Scale.

100 50 25 0 100 200 300 400

7. Although the temple of Minerva at Priene seems to have closely resembled that of Bacchus at Teos in the length and breadth, its other proportions were different, the intercolumnia being smaller in proportion to the diameter of the column, which measures four feet and a quarter at the bottom of the shaft. The shaft was 38 feet high and fluted. The material of the temple, as well as of the other buildings of the city, was the stone of the mountain on which it stands—a blue and white marble, not of a very compact texture.

Vitruvius has not spoken of the temple of Sardes, probably because it was already in ruins in his time. The other six just enumerated are the great examples of the Ionic order to which he has particularly alluded, and which happen also to be the temples of Asiatic Greece of which the existing ruins furnish us with the most satisfactory details. There were other temples of great celebrity in that country; particularly those of Apollo at Grynium and at Clarus, of Hercules at Erythræ, and of Minerva at Phocæa, to which we may add that of Cyzicus destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Antoninus Pius †; but no remains of these edifices, except that of Clarus, which is stated by Captain Beaufort to have been of the Doric order, have yet been discovered.

NOTE TO PAGE 268.

To the testimony of Livy as to the Phrygius might have been added that of Appian; but it is evident that in the description of the battle of Magnesia both the historians have drawn from the same source, namely Polybius, and Appian is less particular than Livy as to the topography of the position.

stroyed by the Carthaginians was perhaps in his time nearly in the same shapeless state of ruin that it is now.

† Plin. H. N. l. 36. c. 22. Dion. Cass. l. 70. ad fin. Dio says the columns were τετραόργυιοι μεν πάχος, ὕψος δε πεντήκοντα πηχέων, ἕκαστος πίτρας μιᾶς, a description which, *if true*, justifies his assertion, that the temple was the largest in existence.

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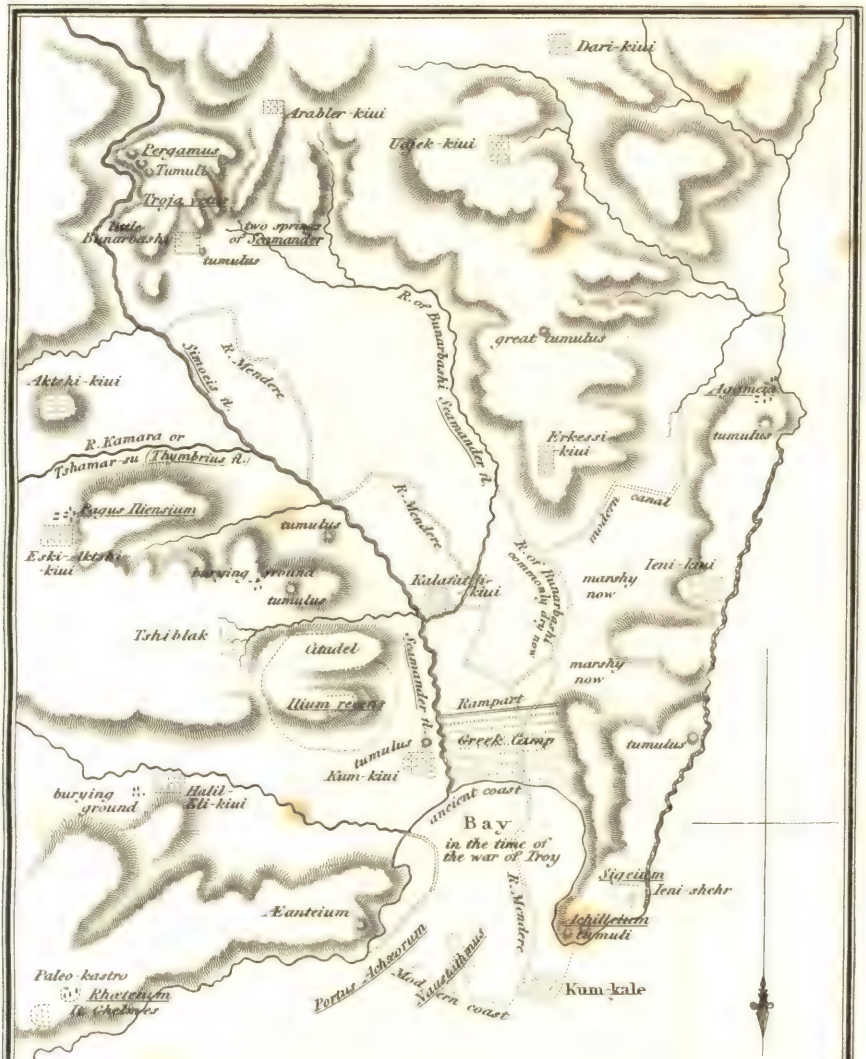
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The TROAS from
RHŒTEIUM and ALEXANDREIA
to the
SUMMITS of Mt IDA.
3 6 9 12
English Miles
The small circles express tumuli or barrows.
Mt Kaz-dagh
M. Gargarus
M. Cotylus Sources
Avghilar
ruins
Kutshunlu-tepe (Cebrene)
Kemali
Bairamitsh
Saliklar
R. Menders (Scamander) Sources
Hot springs
Bunarbashi
Turkmanli
Ruins of a Temple
Chimbres
ruined Aqueduct
Erin kiui
Eski Akshi ruins (Pagus Ilicensium)
Akshi kiui
Callicolone
Ak kiui
Stone bridge
Ruined fortress
Ishurlie (Cenchreæ)
Ené
Wooden bridge
Ruins (Rhœteum)
Halileli
Kara dagh
Tepe ya vetus port Scamandrius
Fabler
Eski Skuptshu
Tchiblak
Alum works
Bunarbashi Sources
Bissar Halane
Mines of Silver &c.
Ex-tepe
Stone bridge
Kiz-Kalesi ruined fortress
Portus Achæorum
Kum kiui
Kalafatli
Naustathmum Scamandri
Wooden bridge
Udjek tepe
Bos kiui
Burgas
Kotshotan
Quarries
R. Menders (Scamander) Xanthus sive Scamandrus
Kum Kale Turkish fort and village
Achilleium
Dari kiui Shekli
Kemali
Erkessi
Yenishehr (Sigeum)
Peranli
Hot springs
Udonce
Tuzla
R. Tuzla (Satnioeis)
Yahan
Eski Stambul ruins of Alexandreia
Yeni Kiui
Palæo Kastro (Iameia)
Ancient Isthmus
Liman Ief
Neocorak Fortress
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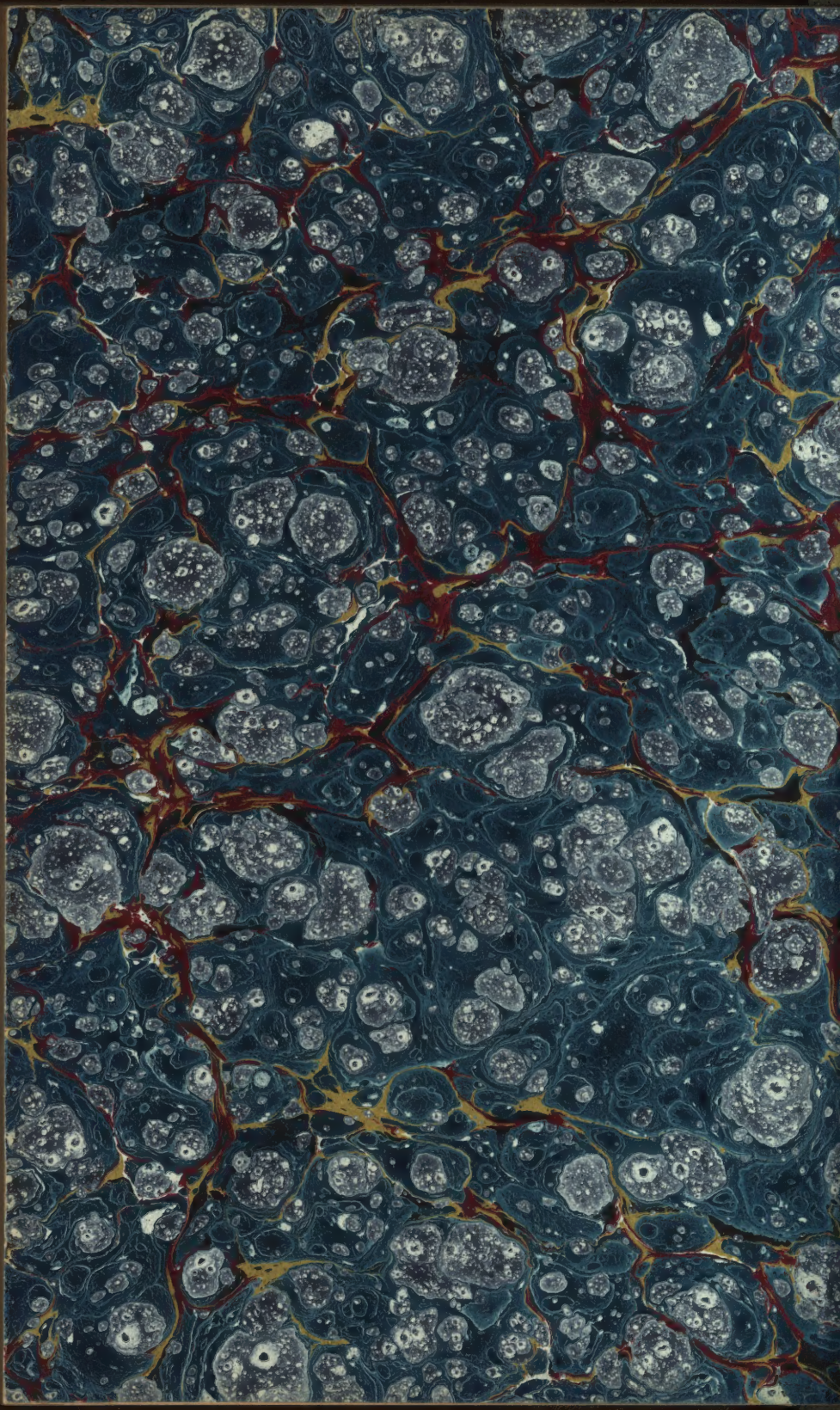
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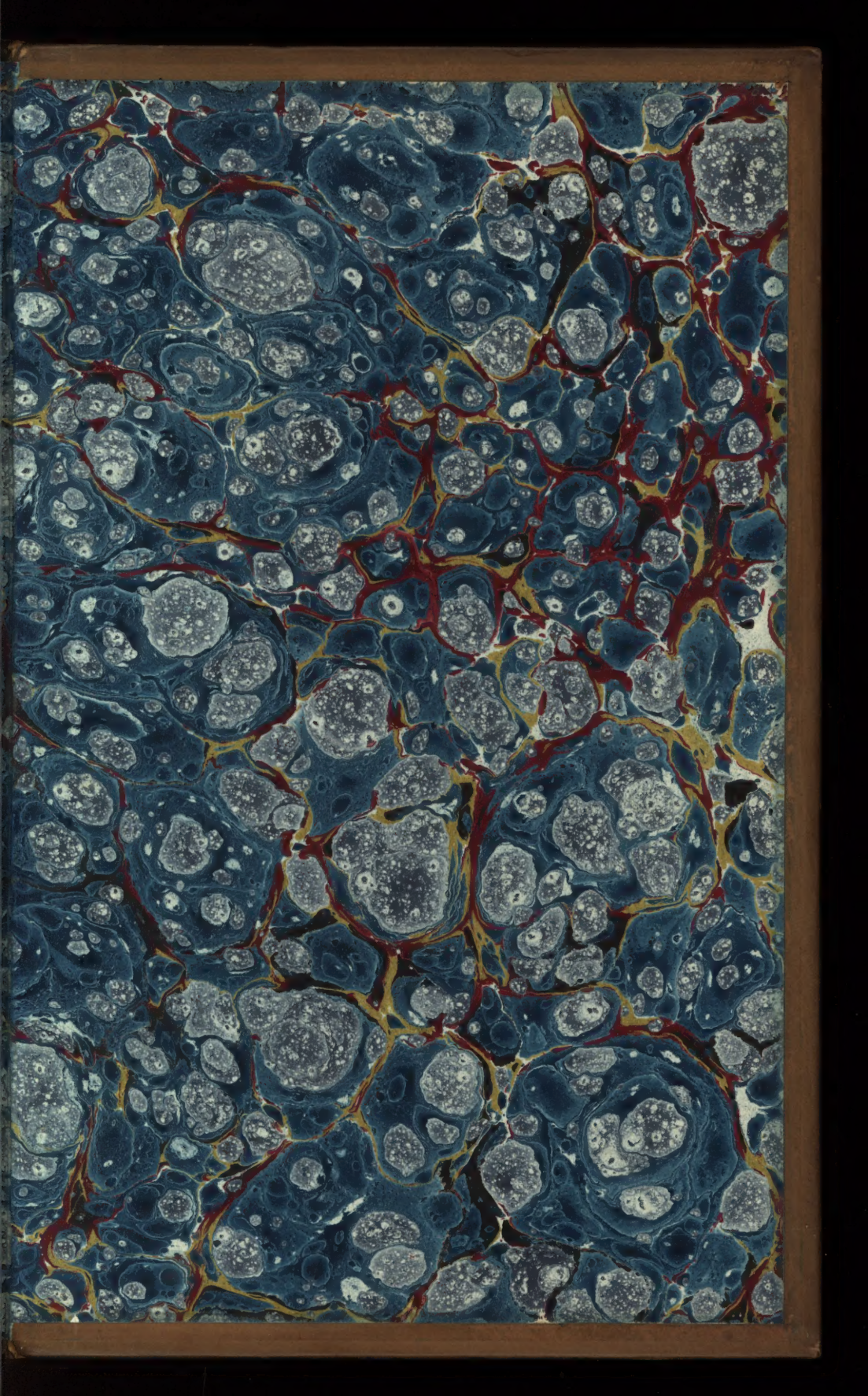
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